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Titelvignette nach dem Holzschnitt *Fraw Musica* von Lukas Cranach d. J. für Verlagswerke des Georg Rhau in Wittenberg, ca. 1544–1556. Auch die Schlußvignette entstammt Rhau's Offizin.

La vignette du titre d'après la gravure sur bois *Fraw musica* de Lukas Cranach le Jeune pour les publications de Georg Rhau à Wittenberg, environ 1544–1556. La vignette à la fin provient de même de l'imprimerie de Rhau.

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Visual message and music in cultures with oral tradition*

Febo Guizzi

The representation of a man and a woman as a couple is a recurrent theme in various objects of folk art production, all over Europe. In Italy, as in many other places of the European folk culture, this is a theme traditionally found in wedding gifts, as the wooden corset sticks from Abruzzo, the Sicilian carved spoons and laced bed-spreads, the Calabrian tapestries, etc.¹

In these cases the object's initial function, especially when it is a matter of a gift, explains the sense of the image; so there are no special questions about the interpretation of their meaning: it is established upon a reassuring and propitiatory intention. An example which does not appear to belong to the same category, however, is the carved representation of a similar "subject" on a double flute made from a single block of wood, used in a small area of the province of Benevento (*fig. 1*).² Its singularity is pointed out, if only for not belonging to the group of the known traditional wedding-presents — which are in general characterized by a similar functionality as objects devoted to the feminine and household works — but also for its formal and decorative shape.

Here the image in fact includes also the representation of a third "personage", and does not seem to reproduce the same open, and perhaps somewhat tautological, symbolism as it appears in the other artifacts considered above. In an attempt to interpret its meaning I shall start from the hypothesis that the relationship between the object, with its specific form and function, and its decoration, is not coincidental but necessary and significant.

Let us now consider the flute: it is a variant of that broad morphological type constituted by the double flutes of southern Italy and Sicily, of which the typological variety and cultural importance are now well known.³ The particularity of this flute is that it was made by hollowing and carving a block of wood, instead of working on two cane-reed tubes, as it happens as a rule for the other

* Revised version of the paper given at the First International Meeting of the ICTM Study Group for Musical Iconography, The Hague, Gemeentemuseum, 10–5 June 1986.

1 Many examples are in the main collections of folk-art museums. For items published with photographic evidence see Toschi 1967: pl. 206 (tapestry from Longobucco; Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari [MNATP]), Guizzi 1983: pl. 1a (Sicilian spoon; Rome, MNATP), Marabottini Marabotti 1963: pl. 428 (corset stick from Abruzzo; Rome, MNATP).

2 Photo by Roberto Palmieri. The instrument was probably made in the early years of this century; it is now property of Domenico Vitali, a player and maker of similar wooden double flutes from Cusano Mutri, a little mountain village in the province of Benevento, 80 km north of Naples. Nobody in the village knows the identity of the maker of this old instrument, which is the most beautiful flute yet preserved in Cusano Mutri. Another double flute, also in boxwood and richly carved in a similar manner, and with a stylistic taste very near to this one, is stored in the collection of the Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, in Rome. The museum experts did not know anything about the origin of the instrument, before Roberto Palmieri informed them that such a flute might come from the Benevento area, where probably it was made by the same artisan who constructed the flute which we are here considering. I must credit Roberto Palmieri for having "discovered" this folk instrument and carried out the field-research about it: the first results of his work are published in Palmieri 1986. I thank him also for the kind informations supplied, without which this article could not have been written.

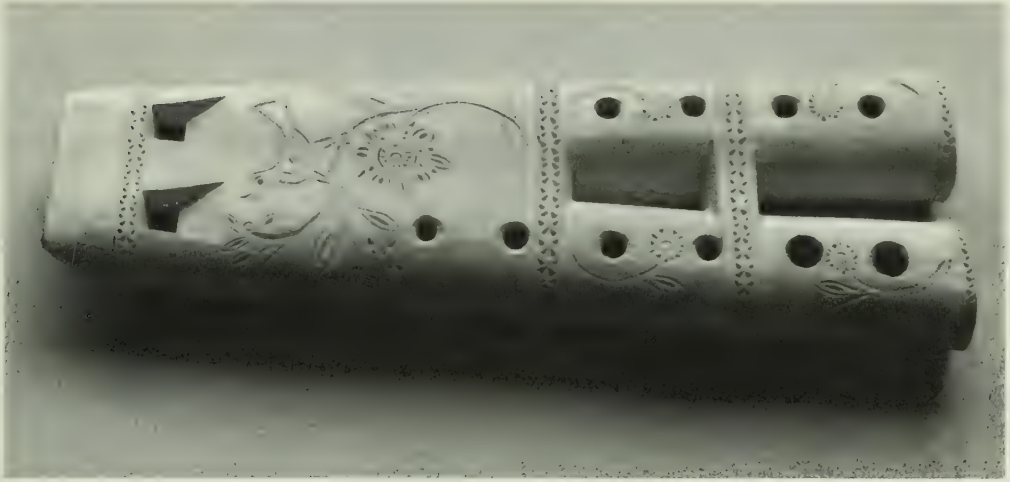
3 About the double flutes in Italy see Fedeli 1912, Carpitella 1975, Leydi 1983 (also in Leydi and Guizzi 1984), Cleopatra and Sarica 1985, Palmieri 1986.



1. Wooden double flute from Cusano Mutri (Benevento); early 20th century, maker unknown. – Photo: Roberto Palmieri

South-Italian double flutes. However, the comparison between the models of different makers and the instruments with cane-pipes (*Arundo donax* L.) themselves, existing and constructed in the same area, leaves no doubt that the wooden flutes represented an innovation of the previous cane version: in fact, it is evident that the wooden flutes maintained not only the measurements and musical structure of the cane-models, but also a sort of physical “memory” of the previous structure embodied in some details of the form carved in the wood; and this reminiscence visualized in the outer form functions — and is explainable — exclusively as a visual message. As can be clearly seen in the exemplar here considered, which is presumably the oldest one traced in the area, the pairing of the pipes is emphasized by giving the flute the false appearance of two reeds held together by a binding that leaves free the two windows and the “feet” of the pipes. It is not merely in the metaphorical sense of high–low that I use the term feet, because the flute is made so as to be able to stand erect on the bases of the two pipes, thus acquiring an explicit anthropomorphic connotation, at least as much as it is possible to individuate an anthropomorphic appearance in a vertical outline resting upon two “inferior limbs”. The anthropomorphic allusion is not confined to the outlook of the whole object; the two principal parts of it are in fact also marked by a similar symbolism, expressed in verbal terms: in the local terminology the two pipes (which are tuned at an interval of a major third) are commonly designated as male and female. This is normal throughout the Italian area of presence of wind instruments based on the simultaneously playing double (or multiple) pipes, among which the bagpipe dominates. Not only the wind instruments indeed are involved in this traditional use of a gendered metaphor: the terms are also used for other kind of instruments, membranophones such as the folk frame-drum called *tamburello*, and idiophones such as castanets.⁴

⁴ In the case of the *tamburello*, indeed, this terminology is not applied so much to the instrument itself, as to the playing technique traditionally in use for it, in the Campania region: here in fact it distinguishes the male grip, with the left hand supporting the instrument, from the female one, that requires the right hand for this occurrence, and the left for the percussion. See De Simone 1979: 15–6; the same author (1979: 17–8, 21) refers about traditional



2. Wooden double flute from Cusano Mutri (Benevento); 1985, maker Domenico Antonio Maturo. – Photo: Roberto Palmieri

There is no doubt that the form of this flute and its visual elements constitute a stratified system of signification. The structural elements carved in the wood denote, in an exclusively iconic manner — i.e., not dictated by constructional requirements — its *skeuomorphic*⁵ character, its aim to be a “representation” of a different material and technology. Then the form, the proportions, the erect position allude to a consideration of the flute as an object capable of animation (this seems to be the lowest common denominator of all cases of anthropomorphization or zoomorphization of musical instruments).

Finally there is an explicit translation of symbolic and functional significances assigned to the instrument, by means of the icons carved on the flute as decorations. In comparison with *this* flute, it is clear that the figurative decorations of others are nearly always expressive of the musical qualities of the instruments (*fig. 2*). This is a kind of synaesthetic translation from a musical to a visual concept: the figures of birds carved by knife on the flute, for example, are surely linked with a general (and perhaps, generic) “idea” of its musical aptness, since they explicitly hint at the singing potential of the flute through the allegory of a singing animal; if the stylized images of birds carved or depicted on other kind of objects, as often happens, refer to the notion of harmony and happiness of the natural world, these double flutes (and this also often happens with other folk instruments, especially with aerophones) clearly show in visual terms the specific qualities of the object as a producer of singing and music, which is what birds are *par excellence*.

In our double flute with human figures, however, the carvings seem to aim at a translation of something more complex and specific, which is the linguistic definition based on a sexual metaphor, which in its turn “describes” the diphonic structure of the instrument.

terminology for the parts of other “double” instruments, as castanets and flutes. On symbolism of the *tamburello*, and its playing technique in relation with musical iconography, see Guizzi 1988 and Guizzi and Staiti 1989.

5 i.e., the substitution of product of craftsmanship to materials of natural origin. About the concept of *skeuomorphic* translation, applied to organology, see Picken 1975: 195, 571, and Montagu 1981: 274.



3. Detail from fig. 1

Analyzing the figures in greater detail one finds in fact that the third personage is syntactically connected to the male–female couple, completing the iconic message thus revealed in all its complexity. This figure in fact appears as a sort of synthetic contraction of the two above (*fig. 3*). It is larger than the other two and occupies a clearly intermediate area, in the center of the false “binding” enclosing the pipes. If one considers that the male figure is not superimposed on the right-hand pipe because here the space is occupied by the finger-holes, his “ideal” space may be considered to be that symmetrical to the space of the companion. The lower figure reveals a conspicuous female character in the clearly outlined breasts. However, it has a short body which, as in the male figure above, indicates a jacket and trousers, as opposed to the long dress of a woman. The hat, too, is clearly of the “virile” type worn by the male of the couple.

These politely hermaphroditic characteristics thus express a unity out of which the couple is revealed as a distinct addendum: it is the one which divides itself into two, revealing, however, a wish to conserve a prevalence of male characteristics over female characteristics, as if the synthesis occurred by means of the incorporation of the female in a male structure, in opposition to a contrast of equals or paritetic fusion. In this way the message is completed: the two parts of the flute, physically separate before being bound together and now forming part of an inseparable structure of carved wood, constitute two individualities, each with different qualitative characteristics, which interpenetrate and complement each other to form a single result. A result which does not annul, but instead is the expression of a definite hierarchy.

We know that in the area in question, in verbal language, the male denomination is attributed to the right-hand pipe, in the higher register but, more importantly, musically predominant, the female provides a simple accompaniment, often limited to doubling the melodic line a third below.⁶

In the light of these facts, I think it is possible to conclude that the iconic aspect of the flute is the precise translation into visual terms of the principle of the instrument, as well as of its historical genesis and its basic musical structure.

So let us summarize: the use of a single wood block in lieu of two cane tubes, justified as an evolution in the sense of strength and durability of the flute, does not exclude the initial conception of the instrument, which is based on the joining in a double pipe of two different and separate flutes. Theoretically the builder could have ignored the division into two flutes, but he chose to preserve them, in order to confirm in iconic and symbolic form some essential facts: 1) the wooden flute is still based on the idea of two distinct pipes; 2) the pipes are two distinct parts, but not separate, of the same body: they are the right and the left, which are distinguishable, as in the human body, in the symmetry of legs, arms, eyes, etc., all pertaining to the same individual; that is the reason why the flute can be “raised on its feet”, as an anthropomorphic statuette, if only to the extent of having two feet and being able to stand on them; 3) the builder chooses to reproduce the structure of an instrument with two separate pipes, held together by a binding that wraps them along three quarters of their length;⁷ 4) finally, the binary principle of the instrument is visualized in an engraved drawing on the surface of the instrument.

So there are two classes of signs operating within the complex communicative structure of the flute, and reciprocally controlling and supporting each other: of these two classes — icons/words — it cannot be said in fact that the signs of the verbal class perform in an unilateral manner the function of interpreter with regard to the non-verbal signs. Even though, in investigating this system of signs from the outside, it is normally necessary to follow the hermeneutic path that goes from the verbal to the non-verbal sign, in this case we have to admit that the iconic aspect provides far more information than oral testimony is able to transmit, including some indubitable formalizations in a visual-symbolic sense of concepts of the musical language.

We have to deal therefore with images capable of communicating concepts, not only to represent things or events: that is something definable as an “ideogram”, or, better, using in a different way the distinction proposed by Anati (1988: 104–16),⁸ a “pictogram” acting as an ideogram; actually, the image of the hermaphrodite is undoubtedly an anthropomorphic and recognizable figure, which in its turn is the signifier of a conceptual and abstract significate. It translates into pre-verbal form the difference of the two voices of the flute, and classifies these phonic qualities according to abstractions absent from the verbal language of the users of the instrument, as high/low, principal/secondary, proposal/response, etc.

6 This equivalence of male – female and right – left, indeed, is not always confirmed with certainty by the witnesses interviewed, but, when it is asserted, is explained with examples of the following sort: “è il maschio che chiama, la femmina risponde”.

7 This feature is normally visible in other flutes made in Cusano Mutri still today: in some cases, as in the flutes made by Domenico Antonio Maturo, the “false” binding is carved as a reminiscence of a narrow strip wrapping the lower part of the pipes, near to their distal end (see *fig. 2*); this system of binding together with a tarred string the two pipes of a cane double flute is yet widespread in Southern Italy, near the area of Benevento province.

8 Emmanuel Anati, a well known paleoethologist, published his study on the origins of art and conceptuality in 1988, that is two years after the first version of my paper; so I did not have the opportunity to profit from the systematization elaborated by him; his theory considers three categories of graphemes: pictograms (and mythograms), figures where anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms (or forms referred to real or imaginary objects) are recognizable; ideograms, repetitive and synthetic signs that indicate induced and conventional concepts; and psychograms, signs that do not represent objects nor symbols, but seem to express sensations or perceptions transmitted from the author to the perceiver.

I believe that it is here not necessary to interpret the sexual duality as an “archaic”, magical, or cosmic key, nor as archetypal in the Jungian sense. This would seem to me a dogmatic exaggeration, because the visual conceptualization *ex posteriori* and the overt verbal and iconic message speak for themselves.⁹

One must ask oneself, at this point, what possibility of generalization this example affords. I cannot say I know of any other cases so eloquent. Nevertheless, I believe they may exist. In any case I am convinced of the usefulness of proposing in public even an isolated meditation when this throws light on a more general problem. Thus I think that, even if the representation of musical situations does not always contain in itself a message concerning music in a universal sense, there is still no musical situation that does not contain a precise, even if occult, “discourse” concerning the meaning of music. I also believe that any visible manifestation of music in a culture, whether connected with objects or with human behaviour, is an opportunity to decipher its significant contents in relation to the *universalia*; in other words, that it is possible to establish a process of iconization of music, and therefore an iconography and iconology of music, whenever there is present a formalized visual message that is cognate to the manner in which the behaviours or the objects of music are produced within a culture.

I know, obviously, that iconography is not possible without “icons”, and that the behaviour or functional shape of an object do not strictly pertain to the class of icons; but as linguists speak of iconicity of words that represent noises or “sounding gestures” (as onomatopoeias, for example) — acting indeed not through the imitation or the naturalistic equivalents, but as symbolic representations of the reality — I think there is all the more reason to consider the iconicity of gestures, postures, objects, etc., as a repertory of visible manifestations of values, ideas, conceptions, that can find in the visual field a specific way of symbolic formalization, even if not permanently displayed in the space. We know two different scientific considerations of the cultural significance of gestures as a formalized repertory of signs: on one hand, the studies in kinesics, where the gesture is considered as a substitute of the speech or as an unintentional information related to a specific situation;¹⁰ on the other hand, the study of the gesture within the whole performance of the story-tellers in oral cultures, where the gestures discharge a fundamental role in the narrative dramatization.¹¹ In both these approaches we can find useful suggestions and interpretative tools for the understanding of the visible attitudes in performing music: but I think that a complete evaluation of the deeper sense of music, as it is conceived in an oral culture, through the analysis of the “iconicity” of the performing human being and of his artifacts devoted to the performance, should yet be tackled and deepened.

In the cultures endowed with writing, Music as a universal is something other than concretely practiced music: Music is philosophy, it is spiritual category, it is epiphany of the order of the Universe or of the Deity itself, etc. And the history of art is full of visualizations of music as universal, by means of its allegorical personification in the female figure or in a mythical figure, like Orpheus and his lyre. In the oral culture, on the other hand, music is always an activity, a

9 This is the kind of interpretation preferred by Roberto De Simone, who explicitly recalls C. G. Jung and the symbology of the cosmic duality. See Rossi and De Simone 1977: 21, and De Simone 1979: 13–4. Remaining on “iconological” ground, I am reminded of Galileo’s criticism, in the “Terza lettera” on the sun spots, of the Aristotelians, accused of behaving like those painters (and he was thinking of Arcimboldo, as Panofsky confirms, see Panofsky 1954) who set out to paint figures only in a mono-thematic and “specialized” manner, for example using vegetables to portray human beings: “le quali bizzarrie [...] son belle e piacevoli” but they become ridiculous if it is wished to give them preference over “ogni altra maniera d’imitare”. Galilei 1895: 190–1, cited by Guaragnella 1980: 275.

10 See Birdwhistell 1954 and 1970, and Carpitella 1976.

11 See Calame-Griaule 1977.

moment of the experience, however exceptional in comparison with everyday experience: it is always practiced music. The global concept of music is not represented as an object, whether substitutive or allegorical. The attitudes of the performer's body and the form of the instruments make it perceptible, in the sphere of visible space, at the same moment in which the sonorous event takes place and materializes in the acoustical sphere. The performer's bodily movements, consisting in gestures and postures, may simply be informative, or may manifest themselves in a communicative manner. In the former case, the kinetics are regulated by the psychomotoric requirements of the performing technique: it is the music that imposes a kinetic code on the body as on a ductile material that complies with it on the basis of the economy of gestures interiorized in the learning process; but also on the basis of an emotional abandon, capable at times of putting the musicians into a state of near hallucination, or pre-trance, or at any rate of intense physical activity. In the latter case the sphere of technical gesture necessary for the performance might be subjected to a control of the body and a careful regulation of expressions and attitudes, to the extent of an almost complete absence of expressive movements: this is intended to communicate an awareness of the musician's role and the complete mastery of the performance, and thus an explicit conception of the value of music. But the instruments, too, in the moment in which their visible form is established, constitute occasions of conservation of experience. By means of perception, tactile and visual, of their forms, it is possible to retrace the path that the "significations" take from the man to the object, which reflects and returns them as a crystal refracts and reflects a ray of light. The sense of touch interprets the form according to rules that take into account the human possibilities of manipulation, of application of the lips, of distribution of weight, of resistance to elastic tensions or of maintenance of relative rigidity, etc. The sight perceives the form as a summary of instructions for use, to experiment with the touch, but above all as an agglomeration of signs, a significant set. The form does not in itself constitute a visual system organized for the purpose of memorizing data or concepts or for filing "significations", but it contains a secondary discourse concerning the object and its use in that it renders concrete and stable the imaginative activity accumulated in the experience of the organized production of sounds.

In the context of these perceptible manifestations, as well as of auditory perception, with which in any case it is closely linked, the figurative tradition proper detached from the actual experience of the sonorous fact, or alluding to it only in its "absence", is shown to act in a consequent manner, in so far as it can be traced in the folk world. The practice of musical iconography in the oral cultures suggests that the figured representations act as a sort of substitute for writing, in a functional and not in a "technical" sense. In fact they appear to be means of expression and of perpetuation of the point of view with regard to music (in the double sense of thought with regard to music and of experience of "seeing" music in function). A large part of the "ideographic" graphism of the cultures without writing function as symbolic transpositions and not as "casts" of reality: they come into being not as representation of real scenes but as mnemonic devices providing support in an oral context. Even the representation of music is not merely a visual description of the subject producing or receiving sounds, but an element of a contextual "discourse" entrusted to the memory and revived in the direct experience. As such, as I think my reflection on the double flute of Benevento shows, it is by no means indispensable that the "subject" represented should include an explicit reference to music or to its accessory. It is sufficient to visualize a fragment of the "musical thought", which thus is fixed in a permanent manner. It is therefore unnecessary to provide a description or to narrate the events of concrete musical experiences or to try to create an illusionary substitute for the real.

This does not prevent folk and "primitive" art from being concerned, in many cases (that probably would be worth systematic collection and investigation), with attempts of direct

representation of sound and music as “objects”, or as events, almost physically intended: I can remember, among others, the examples from the prehistoric arts,¹² or from pre-Columbian cultures,¹³ in which the sound itself, as directly deriving from the instruments or the mouth of the singers from which it is emitted or produced, is made visible by means of graphisms floating in the air. Analogous examples are traceable in Western art too, where, in “minor” media such as book illumination, may be found the graphic representation, in the form of thin lines coming out of the end of a wind instrument, of the sounding air, showing that the instrument is functioning.¹⁴ Relevant perhaps here is the habit of decorating some folk musical instruments, as for example the chanters’ “bells” of the bagpipe called *le ciaramelle* from Amatrice (Latium), with *passementerie*-fringes, as a similar way of visualizing the sound (or the wind) arising from the pipes, and thus accomplishing the same process of iconic translation of a musical datum, conceptual and material at the same time. In all these cases, indeed, the border between the representation of a musical event as a description of something already perceived in its objective existence, and the visualization of the musical thought, as a form of permanent objectivation of an idea about the music, is very precarious and questionable.

As Gombrich has brilliantly explained,¹⁵ representation in the mimetic-illusory sense started (with Giotto) when the image became the recording of a perception, the “document” of a visual experience, and ceased to be the representation of a concept. Every technical artifice becomes a stimulus to refer the objects and figures shown to the imaginary reality that was “willed” (Gombrich). This gives rise to a representational context in which both artist and public accept the convention of the “frame” as a window open on a fictitious world. Folk art, on the other hand, represents not what it *sees*, but what it *knows* (Gombrich). Rather than stabilizing what the subject has seen, the image seems to obey the imperative of fixing an idea, which otherwise would be lost in the course of time, by materializing it in space, of formulating a concept by means of a meta-logical method of construction, not abstractive but spatial. This is in effect an expedient which makes up for the temporal precariousness of the communication by giving the proposition an accessibility not confined to the fleeting moment. The “zero degree” of this phenomenon corresponds to visual mnemonic expedients of “stenographic” type which aid the recognition of elementary concepts or propositions of the musical language, such as the lines painted on the necks of bowed basses to indicate the hand positions, and thus the corresponding sounds, or as the graphic tablatures, of which Weis Bentzon¹⁶ provides documentation, of the Sardinian triple clarinet *launeddas*. These mnemotechnical expedients are simple and strictly utilitarian signals. Like pebbles in the fairy-tales, they do not “design” a walk, but simply render visible a route through a wood in which there are many paths, helping the memory which otherwise might fail.

But in other cases the sound is not only represented (that is realized in the present) but also pictured, as in the shout of invocation, or of terror, emitted by the open mouth of the victim in *ex-votos* (figs. 4–5). Here, in most cases, the sound translated into image does not serve as a help for the memory. The function of this fiction is to remove the danger, and the shout to which it gave

12 See Anati 1988: p. 106, fig. 36 (painting by hunters, from Chungai, Tanzania); p. 153, fig. 58 (painting by hunters, from Pahi, Tanzania); p. 157, fig. 59 (rock engraving from Seradina, Valcamonica, Italy).

13 See Marti 1970: p. 42, fig. 22 (a fresco from the temple of Tlaloc in Tepantitla, Teotihuacán I, ca. 200 BC–100 AD); p. 54 (miniature from Codex Borbonicus, early Aztec); p. 124 (Codex Dresdensis, Maya, ca. 12th century AD).

14 See, for example, the 15th-century miniature by the Master of the TERENCE des Ducs (Franco-Flemish school) in the Lord Leicester Library, Holkham Hall (England), ms. Holkham 307, fol. 11r. Here a shepherd is playing a bagpipe with the chanter and the drone both showing this “effect”.

15 Gombrich 1963. And before him, Franz Boas, in a different problematic context, but with an analogous effort of comprehension of the languages of the “primitive” arts, has affirmed something very similar (1927: chapter 3).

16 Weis Bentzon 1969: 28.



4. Anonymous painter from Rimini, *Ex-voto*. Morciano (Forlì), Cappella della Beata Vergine delle Grazie. – Photo: after Meldini 1981: 143, pl. 28



5. Anonymous painter from Rimini, *Ex-voto*. Rimini, Santa Chiara. – Photo: after Meldini 1981: 205, pl. 53



6. Panel from a side of a Sicilian cart. Palermo. – Photo: after Toschi 1967: pl. 213

rise, once and for all. What is represented in the *ex-voto* is a real, historical event, and the pictorial representation is appreciated to the extent to which it constitutes a “document” of a particular experience of the person who commissioned it. Even if it is the news, the chronicle, of a miraculous event, it is still news, and so the narrative details, the suggestive and at the same time naturalistic illusionism, are the basic elements which constitute the style. And even if for obvious reasons it is almost impossible to find representations of musical events in the strict sense,¹⁷ it is also true that the descriptive intention concerns itself with the sound aspect of the celebrated event. For the same functional reason the *ex-votos* constitute an exception, in that they paradoxically depict supernatural events by realism; other figurative repertoires, though full of dramatically animated and “clamorous” representations, express themselves in a singularly silent manner. Consider, for example, the battle scenes of Sicilian folk painting (posters of the *Opera dei pupi* or paintings on the sides of carts): the impassive faces, the looks which never meet, that looking elsewhere that blocks even the most convulsive movements, the tight mouths and the weapons

17 In many years of work in musical iconography related to folk culture, I saw only two Italian *ex-votos* representing explicit musical events: the first, found by Nico Staiti and cited in his study about Satyrs and shepherds published in this volume (his fig. 37), is a scene of miraculous recovery of a child affected by possession, probably of the mythical Tarantula, and comes from the Campania; the second is from Apulia (I do not know its present location), and depicts the salvation *per grazia ricevuta* accorded to a young man wounded in a fray arisen because of a *serenata* devoted to a contended girl: in the background of the main scene it is represented the *serenata* with singing and playing musical instruments.



7. Panel from a side of a Sicilian cart. Palermo: Museo Pitrè. – Photo: Museum

brandished but not crossed (fig. 6). These scenes do not seek to replace the theatre, of which they are an estranged echo, far from the clash of steel and the stentorian voices that create the theatre (and especially *that* theatre). They reveal the heroic virtues of the Paladins as if reflected in a mirror without depth, almost as *souvenirs* of the real epic that everyone interested in the legends of chivalry knows by heart. The same logic is to be found expressed in the paintings of scenes from the opera, likewise traditionally exhibited on the sides of Sicilian carts. In the scene of the dance in the second act of *Carmen*, for example (fig. 7), or in the scene in front of the church in the *Cavalleria rusticana*,¹⁸ we are only apparently within a space which is historically defined and naturalistically organized; only apparently do the foreshortened view of the figures, the blocked tension of movement, the dramatic pathos, provide an example of imitation of a real perceptive experience: we are in fact in the middle of a play of mirrors, in which the three-dimensionality of space is that most artificial three-dimensionality of the opera stage, quoted in all its falsity of perspective; and the corporeality of the characters is that cumbersome and slightly awkward corporeality of first tenors and primadonnas of the melodrama frozen, as in the photographs for the fans, in the unnatural celebration of famous operatic moments, the *scene-madri*.

It is all the more understandable that the poor folk imagery of the earthenware figures or wood carvings is limited to fixity, to the proposal of an experience of music in which the

18 As in the side of a cart from Palermo in the Casa Museo di Palazzolo Acreide (Sicily).

emotion and the physical intensity of the performance is extinguished, the extremes of gesture and the agonistic charge with which musicians are often infused are lost. It is not only the instrument, which is hinted at, as a mere symbolic presence; it is the entire pathos of the musical experience, the fatigue of making music or the exaltation inherent in the technical mastery of it, which are minimized; the result is a concentrated and sublimated representation of the musical action as a moment of superior poise, of a condition overflowing with cultural sense, far removed from the “natural” gesture experienced in the real practice of music. It is as it were the outcome of the experience that is portrayed as important, and not the process by means of which the musical experience is concretely carried out, with all the physicality of the bodily and manual technique applied to the instruments used.

Let us consider some examples (*figs. 8–13*) comparing photographs of Italian folk musicians with representation of them in *terracotta* figurines from Calabria and Sicily. Apart from the discussion concerning the “expressive” limits of the technical means which bring the image into being, it seems that one cannot but conclude that these visual repertoires reveal a substantial lack of interest in proposing what the eye sees in the empirical perception of the real, and favour instead a sort of “reflection” on music, in the sense of a sphere of reassurance, in which contradictions are resolved and emotions released. This attribution of value to the musical experience, which is carried out by objectifying it in the visual field, can be interpreted as being homologous to that attribution of value to oneself and to one’s role that, as I have said, is communicated by those few, authoritative musicians whose behaviour during the musical performance has the mark of austerity and serene impassiveness of the masters. There is no doubt that in many cases the attitude of the singer or the instrumentalist during the performance seeks to express a dramatic difference from “normality”. Linguists assert, concerning the psychodynamics of the learning of the mother tongue, carried out in infancy purely orally, that it sinks its psychic roots into the unconscious. If this is true, I think that it is equally likely that the music received aurally from infancy is part of the psychic experience of the adult, inseparable from the deepest roots of his consciousness. The appearance of being possessed by an external force, which can be seen in certain inspired musicians, is perhaps simply the visualization of the irruption of memory beyond the lower levels of consciousness. For this reason it cannot be said that the folk musician has the same intention to communicate which induces so many academic concert musicians to produce, with an overabundance of gesture, an image of themselves oscillating histrionically between demiurgic power and aesthetic passion. In the folk musician, on the contrary, when the awareness of his role induces him to complete the conquest of his public by deliberately projecting an image, this image takes the form of self-mastery, self-control, detachment; the seduction of the public is carried out by means of visual messages which are quiet and sober, which coincide with the frontality, the fixity, and the poise of the artistic representation. These characteristics are thus indicators of a conception of “micro-monumentality” which is the basis of plastic iconic production, that is, of a vision of music full of celebrations, as a segment of culture which is highly valued and idealized.

The subject represented, because it is free from the convention of the mimetic illusionism of visual experience, tends towards the rarefaction and the lack of significative density of the “visual field”. The figures are abstracted from a naturalistic context and appear to be constructed with a minimum of morphological detail, just enough to trigger the mechanism of “pertinence” which adapts the image to the perceptive culture of those for whom it is destined.

An image expresses a discourse only if it is based on shared conventions, on a code that renders it legible. The code, however, in its turn, cannot be considered as something totally extraneous to the “qualities” of the image. Furthermore, when it is not spoken, it can only be



8. Female tambourine player. Nummici di Amatrice (Latium). – Photo: Maurizio Anselmi



9. Anonymous maker, Terracotta figurine of a female tambourine player from Calabria. Palmi (Reggio Calabria), Museo Etnografico. – Photo: Michele Rizzi



10. Francesco Crudo from Rombiolo, player of *pipita* (Calabrian folk shawm). – Photo: Maurizio Anselmi

11. Mario Judici (Caltagirone, Sicily), Terracotta figurine of a folk shawm player. Private collection. – Photo: Nico Staiti



12. Agostino Trojano from San Paolo Albanese (Potenza), player of *surdulina* bagpipe. – Photo: Maurizio Anselmi

13. Mario Judici (Caltagirone, Sicily), Terracotta figurine of a bagpipe player. Private collection. – Photo: Nico Staiti

“expressed” by means of the general cultural context. Therefore, even if in the scientific method proof by absence is always open to suspicion, I think it is legitimate to infer a common context to the characters of an iconic repertory, even if this context is distinguished more by an absence than by an abundance of outward signs. In other words I think it possible to deduce a common conception of reality, and of the role of music within it, from the lack of the density and overabundance of realism bordering on caricature of proper characterizations, which are found instead, and not by chance, in the portrayals of the world of the lower classes, found in genre paintings and in the aristocratic *crèches* produced by artists for buyers, both extraneous to that world. Mario Judici’s¹⁹ synthetic figurine of the shepherd with bagpipe is enough to enable the Sicilian child to recognize a significant fragment of his reality, and the value in it that tradition assigns to music. Even though our thirst for historical information is satisfied by the wealth of details furnished by genre painting²⁰ and other “illusionistic” representations, we should not fail to appreciate the importance of a document which speaks not only of things seen and things unseen, but also of the manner of seeing them.

19 Judici is the most important maker of terracotta figures of the present traditional production in Caltagirone, Sicily, where a rich school of earthenware flourished for many centuries. Judici is the actual heir for that part that can be considered the most popular and really folkloric.

20 On this subject, see my article “The sounds of *povertà contenta*: cityscape, landscape, soundscape, and musical portraiture in Italian genre painting of the 17th and 18th centuries”, in this volume.

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The figure of the shepherd-musician from the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance: some iconographical examples from Central Italy

Pier Maurizio Della Porta and Ezio Genovesi

This survey, based mainly on Trecento and Quattrocento works of art from Central Italy, traces the *topos* of the shepherd-musician to its origins through literary and art documents.¹ Our treatment of the subject deals with particular events selected at diverse points in time and does not claim to exhaust the subject, but rather to lay the groundwork for a more systematic and in-depth future study. The approach to the documents associated with figurative arts has been essentially iconographic and, as far as regards literary sources, we have cited some of the most representative works.

The figure of the shepherd-musician originates in the characters of Greek and Roman mythology and Hebrew culture. In Greek and later in Latin literature, the most direct relationship can be found in the myth of Pan, god of the shepherds of Arcadia and their flocks, already cited in the *Homeric Odes*² and later by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, in which the poet tells how Pan invented the panpipe.³ There also appears in the same poem Apollo, who, when forced by Zeus to watch over the flocks of Admetus, takes consolation in the sound of the panpipe.⁴ Virgil too speaks of Pan in his *Bucolicon liber* as the originator of that instrument⁵ and often refers to wind instruments played by shepherds (*avena, calamus, harundo, fistula, tibia*) in his pastoral sketches. Of great interest are the illustrations that accompany the so-called *Virgilius*

1 Revised version of a paper given at the Second International Meeting of the ICTM Study Group for Musical Iconography, Orta San Giulio, 24–9 May 1988. We first became interested in this subject through a lecture by Nico Staiti, at the XIV Convegno Internazionale di Musicologia in Bologna (1987), entitled *Immagini e suoni di pastori e zampogne*, see Staiti 1990. His lecture provided us with useful information and reference points.

2 Specifically in the hymn dedicated to the god Pan, one reads:

[...] τότε δ' ἔσπερος ἔκλαγεν, οἷος
ἀγρης ἐξανιών, δονάκων ὕπο μοῦσαν ἀθύρων
νήδυμον· οὐκ ἂν τόν γε παραδράμοι ἐν μελέεσσιν
ὄρνις ἢ τ' ἔαρος πολυανθέος ἐν πετάλοισι
θρῆνον ἐπιπροχέουσα, χέει μελίγηρυν αἰοδῆν [...]

(*Homeric Odes*, XIX, 14–8)

Translation: "At times returning alone at sunset from hunting, he softly blows on his pipe a sweet music which cannot even be surpassed by the springtime melody of the birds, whose plaintive sound drifts among the flowered branches with a voice sweet as honey".

3 Panaque, cum prensam sibi iam Syringa putaret
corpore pro nimphae calamos tenuisse palustres,
dumque ibi suspirat motos in harundine ventos
effecisse sonum tenuem similemque querenti;
arte nova vocisque deum dulcedine captum

"hoc mihi conloquium tecum" dixisse "manebit!"
Atque ita disparibus calamis compagine cerae
inter se iunctis nomen tenuisse puellae.
(*Metamorphoses*, I, 705–12)

4 The myth tells how Apollo was temporarily compelled to be a shepherd as a punishment after having killed the Cyclops:

Illud erat tempus, quo te pastoria pellis
textit onusque fuit baculum silvestre sinistrae,
alterius dispar septenis fistula cannis;
dumque amor est curae, dum te tua fistula mulcet,
Pan primus calamos cera coniungere plures
instituit [...]. (*Bucolicon*, II, 32–3)

incustoditae Pylios memorantur in agros
procedisse boves [...].
(*Metamorphoses*, II, 680–5)

5 Pan primus calamos cera coniungere plures
instituit [...]. (*Bucolicon*, II, 32–3)

Vaticanus and the *Virgilius Romanus* of the Vatican Library.⁶ Especially the latter seems to constitute a fundamental antecedent for any subsequent iconography of the pastoral theme in both medieval and Renaissance times. In Hebrew culture the figure most directly related to that of the shepherd musician is David: shepherd, king, and thaumaturgical musician (*Samuel*, I, 16, 16 and 23); while the Christian world adopts the *topos* of the ancient tradition, both pagan and biblical, in the apocryphal gospel stories of the Annunciation to the shepherds and of the Annunciation to Joachim (*Luke*, 2,8; *The Protogospel of James*, 1,4; *The Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew*, 11,2).

In the early Christian Era, however, the secular images pertaining to the world of the peasants almost disappear, because religious art takes on a function which is primarily didactic and its representations are rich in anagogical and symbolic significance. Such art presents the figure of Christ as a *Pastor bonus* and, supported by the writings of the Church Fathers, points out the resemblance of the *Pastor gregis* to the figure of the bishop.⁷ In any case, in the images of the first centuries of Christianity every attempt is made to avoid any diversion from codified doctrinal meanings.

After the 11th century the figurative arts change considerably. Still putting emphasis on didactic function, and developing, in fact, into visual *Biblia pauperum*, they become enriched with some naturalistic elements and allusions to everyday life in order to clarify the message. A relevant example is an Annunciation to the shepherds in the church of Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella in Rome, which is part of a cycle dated 1011. In this fresco, now practically illegible, the angel makes the announcement to four shepherds, one of whom is playing a *fidula* with a bow (see Wilpert 1917: 759, 324). A similar scene can be found on an ivory chest (ca. 1070) from the Abbey of Farfa, probably made in a workshop of Amalfi,⁸ in which two shepherds, leaning on the fence of their sheepfold, are looking up at the angel while a third, far away from the others, is plucking a long-necked lute.

Those images, though, are still in the tradition of the models created by the ancient world and lack the spontaneous realism attained in the art of later centuries, when the figures become more clearly characterized and readily distinguishable by their clothes and personal possessions, including musical instruments such as flutes, pipes and bagpipes. One example of this new type of image can be seen in Bonanno's bronze panel with a Nativity, forming part of the door of San Ranieri (1180) in the Duomo of Pisa. Above the *grotto* of the crib and symmetrically opposed to two angels are two shepherds dressed in animal skins with knapsacks and flasks; one of them plays a pipe (*fig. 1*).

A century later, in the Nativity of Santa Maria in Trastevere (1291), Pietro Cavallini seems to combine hellenistic iconographic types with a modern tendency of rendering the liveliness of

6 For the *Virgilius Vaticanus*, see *Fragmenta* 1930: fol. 1r. This codex, dated early 5th century, contains the first illustration of the eclogues which has come down to us, but is almost illegible. The *Virgilius Romanus* (see *Picturae* 1902) shows on fol. 1r Tityrus seated under a tree playing a long pipe while his friend Melibeus stands listening to the music. Although this illuminated codex is dated late 5th century, its prototype may well precede the *Virgilius Vaticanus*. See Bianchi Bandinelli 1981: 314–27.

7 The image of Christ as “Good Shepherd” is referred to in the *Gospel of St. Luke* 15, 3–7 and in the *Gospel of St. John* 10, 11–6 which take the figure of God, Shepherd of Israel, from various biblical passages. For iconographic examples, see Wilpert 1929: 63–103. Also the mythical figure of Orpheus, even if he is a musician and poet and not a shepherd, is regarded by the patristic writings (see Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticon* 1, 1–10; Origen, *Commentarii in Romanos*, 2, 8) as the symbol of Christ as “Good Shepherd”, for his ability to tame wild animals with song, comparable to Christ converting people with his word. From this analogy derives the transposition into primitive Christian art of Orpheus, dressed in oriental fashion and playing the lyre among the animals.

8 In Schiller 1981: 96, fig. 216. For a complete description of the chest, see Montevecchi 1988: 74–5.



1. Bonanno Pisano, *Nativity* (1180), bronze cast panel. Pisa, Duomo. – Photo: Alinari
2. Pietro Cavallini, *Nativity* (1291), mosaic. Roma, Santa Maria in Trastevere. – Photo: Alinari

the characters in his representation of the shepherds among their flocks: one with a wide-brimmed hat and a staff, the other, a graceful little boy, playing a horn while his dog seems to be listening to him (fig. 2).⁹

The diffusion of the *Apocrypha* and other devotional literature, such as the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1230–1298) and the *Meditationes vitae Christi* (early 14th century) by Giovanni de Cauli, suggested to art patrons and artists alike more abundant material for the depiction of the life and glorification of Christ. The characters who most interest us here can be found primarily in iconography associated with the Nativity, the Annunciation to Joachim, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and the Adoration of the Magi.

According to the *Legenda aurea* (VI, *De Nativitate Christi*) the announcement by the angel takes the shepherds by surprise during the watch they are keeping at the time of the winter solstice. This detail reflects the superimposition of Christian meanings on pagan rites and explains how the “light of the new fire”, a rite associated with the celebration of the solstice (Eliade 1968: 87–94), becomes a glorification of the “new light of the world”, which reveals itself to the humble shepherds and redeems even the poorest from their lot. Often they are represented in the background, detached from the main figures, intent on their own activities, and portrayed with their dogs and their sheep which are grazing or enclosed in fences. Some are seated while they keep watch and play wind instruments (figs. 3–5).

In the *Nativity* (1383) painted in the church of Santa Maria at Vallo di Nera, a small village in the middle of a typical rural area in the Umbrian Appennines, the two shepherds are depicted wearing clogs and torn breeches with a genuine and appropriate sense of realism. While listening to the angel and advancing awkwardly towards the hut, one of them celebrates the event by playing a bagpipe (fig. 6). In certain paintings it is through the gestures of the

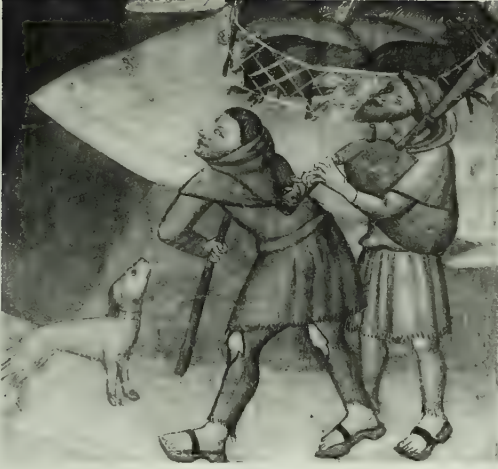
9 According to Millet, the motif of the shepherd playing with his dog next to him comes from the Hellenistic figurative culture, taken in turn up by Byzantine art. The dog in these images is either seated or standing on its hind legs, see Millet 1960: 134–5. For a general account of the image of the Adoration of the Shepherds, see also Réau 1958: 231–6.



3. Taddeo Gaddi, *Annunciation to Joachim* (ca. 1330), fresco. Firenze, Santa Croce. – Photo: Alinari



4. Bernardo Daddi, *Nativity* (first half of 14th century), tempera on wood. Firenze, Uffizi. – Photo: Alinari
5. Ottaviano Nelli, *Annunciation to Joachim* (ca. 1410), fresco (detail). Gubbio, San Francesco. – Photo: Fiorucci



6. Cola di Pietro da Camerino and Francesco di Antonio, *Nativity* (1383), fresco (detail). Vallo di Nera, Santa Maria. – Photo: Fiorucci

7. Giotto, *Adoration of the Magi* (ca. 1320), tempera on wood. New York, Metropolitan Museum. – Photo: Museum

musicians, who stop and look up incredulously towards the light emanating from the angel, that the astonishment at the wonderful announcement is clearly conveyed (fig. 7).

In the Adorations, on the other hand, the shepherds are represented closer to the crib and participate in the chant of glory together with the angels. The tale of the Nativity recounted in the *Meditationes vitae Christi* seems to represent the music of the shepherds as an earthly parallel to the music of the angels.¹⁰ The Nativity (1368) painted by Biagio di Goro Ghezzi in the church of San Michele in Paganico clearly illustrates this concept. In fact, in addition to the usual Nativity iconography, this picture presents two shepherds kneeling right next to the Madonna, one of whom looks up towards the celestial musicians while the other plays his bagpipe. But in this painting the attitudes of the animals are also to be noted: they seem to join in the joyous festivities, particularly the ass who brays heavenwards (fig. 8).¹¹

The high degree of realism in the representations of the 14th and 15th centuries described above is reflected, and confirmed, in contemporary treatises on sheep breeding¹² in which are described the life and daily tasks of the shepherds, the pasturing of the animals, and the evening

10 “Venerunt omnes, quotquot ibi erant, successive per ordines suos videre faciem Domini Dei sui, et adorantes eum cum omni reverentia, et etiam matrem eius, laudem eidem cantica et personabat. [...] Veneruntque pastores et adoraverunt eum, referentes quae audierant ab angelis”. (Giovanni de’ Cauli 1668: 340).

11 A fascinating interpretation is that by Marius Schneider, who proposes that the brays of the ass allude to the agonizing cry of the dying Christ (1980: 129–49). In this case, though, the more acceptable version would seem to be that following the *Meditationes* proposed by Freuler (1986: 49), in which one reads: “La gioia dei cieli [...] trasformati in moltitudine dorata e festante di angeli al cui giubilo, secondo le intenzioni dell’anonimo frate francescano [Giovanni de’ Cauli], si uniscono le creature della terra: la melodia della zampogna del pastore, il raglio incontenente dell’asino”.

12 This refers to the *Liber ruralium commodorum* (ca. 1304) by Pietro de’ Crescenzi from Bologna, the ninth book of which deals with the rearing of the animals, see Crescenzi 1987. For the practices and customs of the shepherds, the treatise of the 14th-century Frenchman Jean de Brie (*Le traité de l’estat, science et pratique de l’art de la bergerie et de garder oeilles et brebis à laine*) is also highly interesting; the text is known to us through a 16th-century summary, published by Paul Lacroix, see Brie 1877.



8. Biagio di Goro Ghezzi. *Nativity* (1368), fresco. Paganico, San Michele. – Photo: after Freuler 1986: 50, pl. II

round-up, when the sheep are enclosed in fences made of rope netting and cane. Moreover we can find an account of the way in which shepherds dress: in hardy footwear, heavy wool capes with hoods and long breeches; we are also told that they usually had a guard dog which wore a large collar as a protection against wolf attacks. The same sources also describe the custom among shepherds of playing wind instruments. It is through their portrayal that these become realistic iconographic attributes. This may depend on a well-established pictorial and literary tradition in which the types are repeated over time. However the main justification for the musical instruments is in the shepherds actual use of them in order to be heard by his companions, as well as by his flock and his dog in the case of poor visibility or in any other such danger. Apart from the pure pleasure of playing, the use of musical instruments also came about through the need to break the silence and monotony imposed by hours of solitude out in the open, and through the desire to exorcize evil spirits. Of course pipes, bagpipes, horns, and flutes were made from materials taken directly from the shepherd's own environment. They were not fragile instruments but functional ones, and in most cases were easily portable in his pack or shoulder bag.

Sacre rappresentazioni, too, are a source of inspiration for the figurative arts. For example, the text of one of these, published by De Bartholomaeis, dating back to 14th-century Siena, contains useful and vivid scenographic instructions:

Alla festa della Natività di Cristo, prima sia ordinato pecorai con pecore cani e cornamuse e quello bisogna loro. [...] Nato Jesù, [l'angelo] annunzi a' pastori quello che debba annunziare. E subito si faccia tra i pastori uno scoppietto e un baleno, al tempo lecito. [...] Mentre che vengono i pastori ballino.¹³

Through the rediscovery of the classical world and tracing its origins to Greek and Roman traditions — which had been enriched by the common literary trends of the Christian inspiration — secular art of the same period also incorporates the figure of the shepherds, while giving it an intellectual status. Francesco Petrarca, the most eminent figure of this cultural tendency, in his *Bucolicon Carmen*, written between 1346 and 1348, draws on the imagery of Latin poetry and describes the shepherd as a poet living in contact with nature and able to sing in praise of all earthly as well as heavenly gifts.¹⁴

The ideal of pastoral life comes alive in figurative art, as both private and public commissioned art represented the shepherd in accordance with the courtly taste of the time. A fine example is on the portal of the Palazzo dei Priori in Perugia (after 1346) in which popular music, represented by a shepherd playing bagpipes and frolicking with his dog, joins with educated music, represented by players of the psaltery and organ, to applaud the “Good Government” of the city (figs. 9–10). The same themes of the ideals of order and harmony may be found in a completely different context, the *Tacuinum sanitatis in medicina* or *Libro di casa Ceruti*,¹⁵ an illuminated book possibly of the Veronese school of the late 14th century (fig. 11). In the miniature accompanying the dissertation on the excellence of mutton, two dignified shepherds sit quietly among their flocks: one of them plays a pipe to entertain the other. Here the scenery, beside its didactic purpose, has a vague Arcadian atmosphere which recalls the illustration, fol. 44v, of Virgil's *Georgica*, in the above mentioned codex 3867 of the Vatican Library.

Figurative 14th- and 15th-century art, especially of northern Italy, is also rich with quotations from everyday life translated into tasteful sketches, as in the miniature of the *Miscellanea Rotschild* (ca. 1470–5), a Hebrew manuscript illuminated by a Venetian miniaturist, that includes the scene of the Riches of Job.¹⁶ Poorly dressed shepherds, though portrayed in their true conditions are nonetheless delighted by the sound of bagpipe music (fig. 12).

Another aspect of the shepherd figure emerges in the *recto* from an early 15th-century Florentine salver (fig. 13). It illustrates the musical contest between Alcesto and Acaten, as told by Boccaccio in the *Ameto* or *Commedia delle ninfe fiorentine* (ca. 1341).¹⁷ In the story, the two shepherds, who symbolize the pleasures of a dissipated life and the aspiration to an ascetic one, are judged by the Nymphs/Virtues who proclaim Alcesto the winner. Despite the clear moralism of the allegory, which was probably intended to exalt the virtue of the person for whom the salver was made, the eloquently simple image shows a preference for the world of the city over that of the country. Even when the shepherd is filling the stereotypical role of the poet-musician, in reality and in this artist's version, he remains a clumsy and ridiculous boor.¹⁸

13 De Bartholomaeis 1943: 208–9.

14 Petrarca 1970. In the poem, which is composed of twelve eclogues, the author, through metaphor, recounts his personal fortunes, with the people and the events of his time. Here the glorification of pastoral life also takes on a religious significance: the simplicity and bliss of the life of the shepherds become an ideal state for meditation and spiritual enlightenment.

15 *Tacuinum sanitatis in medicina*, Wien, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. Nov. 2644, fol. 71r.

16 *Miscellanea Rotschild*, Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/51, fol. 65r. See Mortara Ottolenghi 1988: 66–79.

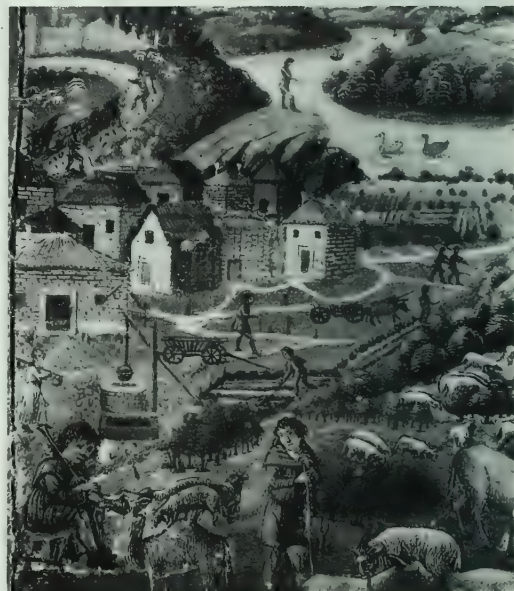
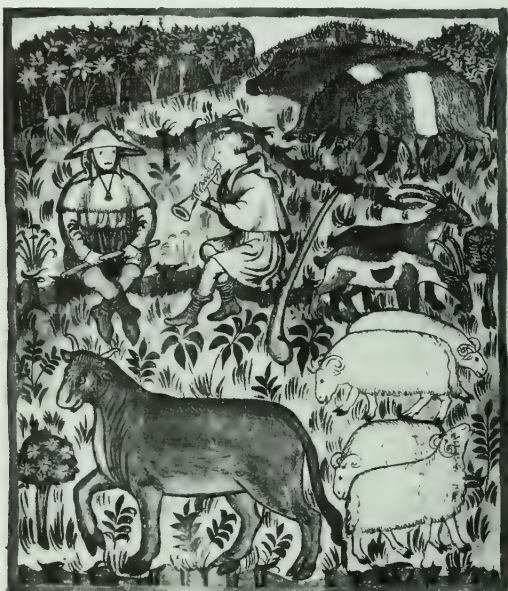
17 Brown 1985: 252, fig. 278; Baetjer 1980: I, 110, ill. II, 16. See also Zeri 1971: 54–6.

18 Antal (1947: 365, fig. 155), without suspecting the connection between this image and the text by Boccaccio, uses the figuration of the salver (which he attributes to Mariotto di Nardo and believes to be a wedding salver gift and not a birth salver) to infer new customs of the time, when rich towns people were beginning to appreciate the pleasures of country life, putting up with it despite their contempt for the vulgar peasants.



9. Umbrian sculptor, *Allegory of Music* (after 1346), carved stone. Perugia, Palazzo dei Priori. – Photo: Fiorucci

10. Same as 9, another detail. – Photo: Fiorucci



11. Veronese miniaturist (?), *Animalia castrata* (late 14th century), miniature. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. Nov. 2644, fol. 71r. – Photo: Library

12. Venetian miniaturist, *The riches of Job* (ca. 1470–5), miniature. Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/51, fol. 65r. – Photo: after Mortara Ottolenghi 1988: 79



13. Lorenzo di Niccolò di Martino (workshop), *The contest between the shepherds Alceste and Acaten* (ca. 1410), tempera on wood. New York, Metropolitan Museum. – Photo: Museum



14. Apollonio di Giovanni, *Bucolicon* (ca. 1460), miniature. Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 492, fol. 1r. – Photo: Pineider



15. Pietro Perugino, *Moses' flight into Egypt* (1482), fresco. Roma, Capella Sistina. – Photo: Pinacoteca Vaticana

This contrast has a literary precedent. Antonio da Ferrara, wandering poet and courtier in exile who lived between 1315 and 1374, in his poem *Lagrima i occhi e 'l cor sospiri amari* looks back with regret to the pleasures of city life. He emphasizes the harshness of rural customs and, yearning for the sweetness of the “sonar d’instrumenti”, laments having to listen to the vulgar sounds both of the “piva” and of the “corno”:

[...]

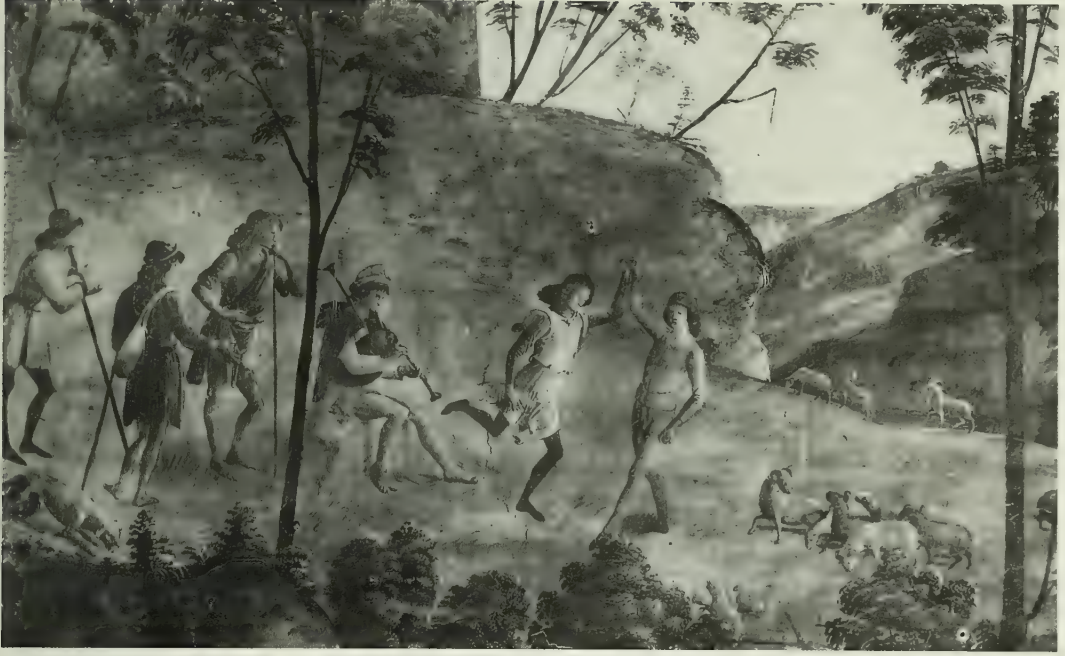
E quanti graziosi parlamenti
in un verde giardino
sonando un cembalino,
m’obbligò sempre star servo d’amore.
Ché spesse volte un organetto al core
sentir me fece tanto de dolcezza

per una bionda trezza,
che me ’l recorderò sempre io viva.
Ora odo una piva
per confortar sé pegore in campagna,
e su qualche migragna
talor el corno per assemblar el greçço
[...]¹⁹

19 Translation:

“How many sweet encounters
In an orchard green
Playing a tambourine
Bound me for ever faithful to love,
As often a little organ does
Swell up in my heart so much tenderness
(Antonio da Ferrara, *Rime* [1967], XXXII, 93–106. Translated by Luisa Guarneri Hynd)

For one with looks so fair,
That I will remember whilst in me is life.
And now a bagpipe I hear
Out in the fields giving comfort to the sheep
And then on some lonely outcrop of rock
Sometimes [I hear] a horn to gather the flock”.



16. Same as 15, detail. – Photo: Pinacoteca Vaticana

The diffusion and appreciation of classical literary works in the humanistic age encouraged an intellectual idealization of pastoral life in opposition to the *taedium* of townish life. The codex *Virgilio Riccardiano* (ca. 1460), probably illuminated by Apollonio di Giovanni, is perhaps the most illustrious and refined of the various manuscript editions of Virgil's works which were circulating among highly educated readers. The miniature that accompanies the *Bucolicon* (fig. 14) is not a mere visual translation of the text, but in fact provides information about both artist's and patron's idea of the pastoral world. If the hypothesis is true that the addressee of the precious book is the young Lorenzo de' Medici in the guise of a shepherd,²⁰ then the picture reveals that the nostalgic evocation of that ideal, made with simple and genuine feelings, constitutes an inspiring educational and cultural model for recovering the real human dimension thought lost in the troubles of townish life and in the business of governing.

Poliziano, who lives in the same ambience, in the first part of his *Stanze per la giostra di M. Giuliano de Medici* (ca. 1475) expresses a similar position, though more directly applied to human feelings, when he sees in the shepherd's world the refuge where the unhappiness caused by love can be healed.²¹ In the same way Jacopo Sannazzaro elevates the figure of the shepherd

20 Maracchi Bigiarelli (1969: vii–xxiv) suggests the identification of the young man standing in the middle of the miniature (fol. 1r), and not directly related to the Virgilian narrative, as Lorenzo de' Medici.

21 "Quanto giova mirar pender da un'erta
le capre, e pascere questo o quel virgulto;
e 'l montanaro all'ombra più conserta
destar la sua zampogna e 'l verso inculto [...]" (*Stanze* I, 18)

by describing in his poem *Arcadia* (1481–6) the mythical paradise in which care-free shepherds live among songs, bagpipe melodies, dances and plays.²²

The reverberations of such a process of idealization begun in literature are also found in the sacred art of the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Here shepherds are portrayed in groupings still based on medieval schemes but no longer taken from everyday life. They are often very far away from the principal event taking place in the foreground, and placed in idealized rural landscapes. The scene, therefore, represents an independent idyllic genre that characterizes the favourite landscapes of those artists. This appears, for example in the detail of Moses' Flight into Egypt (1482), painted by Perugino in the Sistine Chapel, in which we can see "arcadian" figures, extraneous to the central subject of the story, dancing to the sound of bagpipes (*figs. 15–6*).

An analogous relationship in the composition between the main subject and the complementary figures can be seen in the Nativity (ca. 1503) by Sodoma (see Torriti 1981: 96–7, *figs. 98–9*) and in an Adoration of the Shepherds (early 15th century) by an anonymous Umbrian-Sienese painter (*figs. 17–8*), both to be seen in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena. In these paintings the dance of the barely perceptible shepherds in the far background intentionally has the tone of a pagan feast during the night of the winter solstice; in fact the wild dance is used to contrast the pious event of the Nativity. The scenes still seem to retain a long-lasting memory of the description made in the *Legenda aurea*; but now, in the artist's interpretation, the world of the shepherds has almost become a conventional genre to depict pagan habits.

If one considers that the images discussed here reflect the general tendencies of the various periods and environments from which they have been taken, than it is possible to draw a few conclusions.

By the end of the Middle Ages the figure of the shepherd-musician appears as a product on the one hand of surviving Hellenistic models rooted in their stereotyped genre-scene, and on the other of the marked tendency of the art of 14th century to include glimpses of real life. This is also true for the musical situations in which the shepherd is represented. Under this regard figurative sources agree with the evidence provided by contemporary treatises and literary texts.

However the shepherd, even in the religious scenes in which he appears more frequently and has a more prominent role, rarely holds a position of major importance, as he will later do in the art of the Counter-Reformation. The aspect that distinguishes him and makes him nobler is the music he plays. Uneducated though he may be, he takes on a symbolical significance equal to that of the angels.

The tendency to consider the shepherd as the representative of a naive and simple world — loved by the ruling classes only at a distance — increases to the point where in the court poetry of the middle 15th century, it takes on highly idealistic connotations. This is the beginning of a very long lasting and successful Arcadian genre which was incorporated into contemporary art in the same idealistic way.

22 Sannazzaro (1967). This is evident especially in the *proemio* and in the final prose "A la sampogna", where the concept of pastoral bliss reappears in amplified form in contrast with the *taedium* of city life. "Per la qualcosa, si come io stimo, addiviene, che le silvestre canzoni vergate ne li ruidi cortecci de' faggi diletтино non meno a chi le legge, che li colti versi scritti ne le rase carte degli indorati libri; e le incerate canne de' pastori porgano per le fiorite valli forse più piacevole suono, che li tersi e pregiati bossi de' musici per le pompose camere non fanno". (1967: 49). Translation: "And therefore, so I believe, that those sylvan songs hewn out of the rough bark of the beech are no less delightful to those who read them than those cultured verses composed on the smooth pages of gilded books; and that over the flowering valleys the wax tied reeds of the shepherds bring forth a sound that is perhaps more pleasant than the precise and esteemed wooden instruments of the musicians in the stately halls".



17. Umbrian-Sienese painter, *Adoration of the shepherds* (early 16th century), tempera on wood. Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale. – Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Siena



18. Same as 17, detail. – Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Siena

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Images of music in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia**

Nicoletta Guidobaldi

1. Introduction

Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* is essentially an inventory of symbolic ideas and their corresponding images, written for orators, preachers, poets, painters, sculptors and every kind of scholar, or, in other words, for whoever might need to invent concepts, emblems and works of art and to represent ideas with symbols. As Ripa himself explains, in the *Iconologia*

si descrivono diverse Immagini di Virtù, Vitij, Affetti, Passioni humane, Arti, Discipline, Humori, Elementi, Provincie d'Italia, Fiumi, tutte le parti del mondo, ed altre infinite materie. Opera utile ad Oratori, Predicatori, Poeti, Pittori, Scultori, Disegnatori, e ad ogni studioso per inventar Concetti, Emblemi ed Imprese, per divisare qualsivoglia apparato Nuttiale, Funerale, Trionfale, per rappresentar Poemi Drammatici, e per figurare co' suoi propri simboli ciò che può cadere in pensiero humano. [Ripa 1618: title-page]

Thus moralizing descriptions of these highly disparate concepts are presented almost always accompanied by corresponding illustrations, for the use of poets, rhetoricians or artists, all of whom are concerned with "persuading by various means of reaching the eye or the ear".¹ As an accurate summary of popular knowledge of the period, the *Iconologia* brings together an immense repertory of sources including the work of both classical and contemporary authors, quotations from anthologies of both refined and popular proverbs, and illustrations taken not only from classical bas-reliefs but also from what Ripa defines as "uso comune", in other words from well known 16th- and 17th-century artistic practices.² Some images are taken from the most popular printed collections of classical myths, such as Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum*, Giraldu's *Varia et multiplex historia*, Vincenzo Cartari's *Immagini degli dei* and the Natale Conti (Comes) *Mithographia*. Others are derived from the most important 16th-century Italian emblem books, such as those by Andrea Alciato and Pierio Valeriano.³ And a few are copied from classical or Renaissance sculptures, including some of Michelangelo's best-known works such as *Night* in the New Sacristy in San Lorenzo in Florence. However, the majority of Ripa's illustrations are based upon symbolic figures that had been used in processions and on important festive occasions such as the celebrations of the marriages of Francesco I de' Medici

* Parts of this article go back to a paper given at the Second International Meeting of the ICTM Study Group for Musical Iconography, Orta San Giulio, 24–9 May 1988.

1 Ripa 1618: 2, observes that the image created by painters "persuade molte volte per mezzo dell'occhio" as that of orators "per mezzo delle parole muove la volontà".

2 For the structure of the treatise and for its relationship to the sources, see Mandowsky 1939: 111–235.

3 Seznec 1981: 267–301 (Cap. VII, "La scienza del mito nel secolo decimo sesto"); Klein 1975: 320–41 ("La teoria dell'espressione figurata nei trattati italiani sulle imprese, 1555–1612"); see also Praz 1947, and Landwehr 1976: 5–8, 9–16.

(1566) and of Grand Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany (1589), both of which were known from both drawings and literary descriptions.⁴

The purely musical images that appear in the *Iconologia* illustrate both internal concepts of the discipline (music and harmony), and ideas which, although they are defined or characterised by musical instruments, are either indirectly connected to or are even extraneous to music itself. Here Ripa has collected and selected various figurative and literary elements taken from specific texts (such as those by Alciato and Valeriano already mentioned), as well as from 16th- and 17th-century literary sources. In other words, the process used to construct these musical images, when they are not taken directly from a scholarly source, can be summarised as a combination of disparate elements, stemming both from established literary and iconographic traditions, which can generally be traced to humanistic reworkings of classical musical myths as well as from more recent models, all of which are combined into a single synthetic image. This process of selecting, combining and systematizing figures and attributes, reflects general early 17th-century cultural tendencies. As Mâle observed, with Ripa in hand the vast majority of allegories decorating the buildings and churches of Rome and elsewhere can be explained.⁵ And the reverse is also true; through the *Iconologia* many general aspects of 17th-century thought can be recuperated. At the more specific level of music, Ripa's images can be divided into four types which reflect the typical organisation of contemporary musical treatises; namely, definitions of music, references to the origins of music, and discussions of its powers and its effects. It is within these categories that the discussion will procede.

The main interest, and probably the real reason for the popularity of the *Iconologia*, lies precisely in its value as a compendium of images and, at the same time, as a translation of thoughts and feelings from the oral as well as the written culture of its time into a series of images upon which artists and rhetoricians subsequently drew for their models. However, when confronted with an ideal history of musical images, this codification, which explains the popularity of Ripa, could also be considered as a watershed: between an early period, which is highly varied and composite, and a later period, which, being much more repetitive, is more dependent on easily recognisable models. Rather than examining the musical images of the *Iconologia* with respect to their popularity and their influence on the artists of the 17th and 18th centuries, this article examines their composition, and traces links connecting them on the one hand to the complex iconography of depictions of music and, on the other, to early 17th-century ideas about music.

The richness of Ripa's material (which is characteristically both broadly-based and specific at the same time), and its popularising tone, added to the fact that it is written in Italian rather than Latin, help to explain the extraordinary popularity of the *Iconologia* which, after its first appearance in 1593, soon became an indispensable handbook for both painters and sculptors. By the time of the third edition of 1603, the *Iconologia* now contained explanations of more than 400 allegories, and was illustrated by engravings which are principally copied or inspired by the drawings of the Cavaliere d'Arpino; thereafter, the book was reprinted many times, long after Ripa's death,⁶ not only in Italy but also elsewhere in Europe.⁷ In these late editions Ripa's

4 For the images of the pagan gods in feasts and in banquets after 1550, see Seznec 1981: 343–7 (Cap. IX “L'influenza dei manuali”).

5 Mâle 1932: 383–428 (Cap. IX “Les survivances du passé, l'Allégorie”); Mandowsky 1939: 302–20. See also Panofsky 1962.

6 Vermiglioli 1829: 258–9. See also Stefani 1991.

7 See Mandowsky 1939: 325–7 (“Appendice II”); Praz 1964: 472–5. For the fate, transmission, and for the internal transformations of the treatise in all its successive editions, up to the one by George Richardson, see Gordon 1975: 51–74.

text was amplified and modified many times, but this article principally refers to the edition of 1618, which is the fullest and most fully-illustrated edition to have been published during Ripa's lifetime.

2. Ripa's descriptions of "Lady Music"

With regard to *Musica* as a discipline, Ripa presents five literary images, all without illustrations, as follows:

(I) Donna giovane a sedere sopra una palla di color celeste con una penna in mano: tenghi gli occhi fissi in una carta di musica stesa sopra un'incudine. con Bilance a' piedi, dentro alle quali siano alcuni martelli di ferro. Il sedere dimostra esser la musica un singolar riposo dell'animo travagliato. La palla scuopre che tutta l'armonia della musica sensibile si riposa et fonda nell'armonia dei cieli conosciuta da' Pitagorici [...]. Le bilancie mostrano la giustezza ricercarsi nelle voci per giudicio degli orecchi non meno che nel peso per giudicio degl'altri sensi. L'incudine si pone perché si scrive et crede quindi haver havuto origine quest'arte [...]. [Ripa 1618: 357]

(II) Donna che con ambedue le mani tiene la lira di Apolline et a' piedi ha varij stromenti musicali. Gli Egittij per la Musica giungevano una lingua con quattro denti come ha raccolto Pietro Valeriano, diligente osservatore dell'Antichità. [Ripa 1618: 358]

(III) Donna con una veste tutta piena di diversi istromenti et diverse cartelle nelle quali siano segnate le note et tutti li tempi di esse. In capo terrà una mano musicale acconciata fra' capelli et in mano una viola da gamba o altro istromento musicale. [Ripa 1618: 358]

(IV) Si dipingono alla riva d'un chiaro fonte quasi in circolo molti cigni et nel mezzo un giovinetto con le ali alle spalle con faccia molle et delicata, tenendo in capo una ghirlanda di fiori, il quale rappresenta Zefiro in atto di gonfiare le gote et di spiegare un leggero vento verso detti cigni. per la ripercussione di questo vento parerà che le piume di essi dolcemente si muovano perché, come dice Eliano, questi uccelli non cantano mai se non quando spira Zefiro [...]. [Ripa 1618: 358]

(V) Donna che suoni la cetra la quale abbia una corda rotta, et in luogo della corda vi sia una cicala. In capo habbia un rosignolo uccello notissimo, a' piedi un gran vaso di vino et una lira co'l suo arco. La cicala [...] significa la musica per un caso avvenuto d'un certo Eunomio al quale, suonando un giorno a concorrenza con Aristosseno musico, nel più dolce sonare si ruppe una corda et subito sopra quella cetra andò volando una cicala la quale col suo canto suppliva [...]. Il vino si pone perché la Musica fu ritrovata per tener gli animi allegri come fa il vino et ancora perché molto aiuto dà alla melodia della voce il vino buono et delicato: però si dissero i Cureti sonatori andar in compagnia di Bacco da gli antichi Scrittori. [Ripa 1618: 358]⁸

8 Translation:

(I) A young woman sitting on a light blue sphere with a pen in her hand, her eyes fixed on a sheet of music spread out upon an anvil, with a pair of scales at her feet, in which there are some iron hammers. Her sedentary pose shows that music offers complete repose to the troubled mind. The sphere demonstrates, as discovered by Pythagoras' followers, that all the consonance of music springs from the harmony of the skies [...]. The Scales show justice seeking expression in the voice, for the judgement of the ears no less than through the other senses. The anvil is included because it is believed to be at the origin of this art [...].

(II) A woman holding the lyre of Apollo in both hands, who has various musical instruments at her feet. The Egyptians added a tongue with four teeth to represent Music, as Pietro Valeriano, scholar of Antiquities, has observed.

(III) A woman wearing a dress full of various instruments and various pages on which all the different notes and time markings are written. On her head she bears a "musical hand" woven into her hair, and in her hand she holds a viola da gamba or another musical instrument.

(IV) Many swans in a circle are depicted on the bank of a clear spring and in their midst is a young man with wings on his shoulders and a soft, delicate face, wearing on his head a garland of flowers, who represents Zephyr puffing out his cheeks and blowing a light wind towards the swans. It seems that the force of the wind is gently moving the feathers of these birds because, as Eliano says, they never sing unless Zephyr is blowing [...].

Here we are evidently confronted with a kind of anthology of images of Lady Music (rather than a unified model), in which legendary tales of the origin of music, trivialized elements of the Platonic-Pythagorean theories of world harmony, and 17th-century reflections about the function and power of music have been brought together. The first portrait results from the combination of common and disparate elements, assembled by Ripa in order to define and present a coherent image. Some attributes of the figure — the ball, paper, and pen — are merely concrete representations of the properties belonging to Lady Music herself in the early 17th century, while anvils, scales, and hammers had a much more ancient tradition, and had already been frequent subjects of figurative imagery. The tradition, described by Macrobius and Boethius according to which Pythagoras supposedly discovered the relationship between the consonant intervals, while listening to the sounds of hammers and various weights, had already given rise during the Middle Ages to innumerable variations which represent either Music herself striking bells with hammers, or Pythagoras (and subsequently his typological counterpart Tubalcain), beating on the anvil also with hammers.⁹ The iconographic theme of the invention of music was popularised in numerous versions in the 14th century through a series of miniatures which, in their turn, became the model for several famous cycles of frescoes,¹⁰ subsequently found new life in humanistic reinterpretations (Palisca 1985: 226–9). The anvil, hammers, and scales also appear in 15th-century art, as for example the *Music* by Pinturicchio in the Borgia Apartments of the Vatican, as well as in the illustrated texts leading to the humanistic iconography of Gaffurio (fig. 1) or Reisch (fig. 2).

In the following literary figures in the *Iconologia*, contrasting images are placed side by side in a concise and, at first glance, incongruous manner. In the image of Music with Apollo's lyre (II), the 14th-century iconographic tradition showing Music surrounded by musical instruments and in the act of playing a stringed instrument, is instantly recognizable.¹¹ These elements are also found, sometimes separately, in late 15th-century representations such as the miniature illustrating the *De nuptiis Filologiae et Mercuri* in the Marciana codex,¹² and in the Northern Italian series of engravings known as the *Tarocchi del Mantegna* (fig. 3).¹³ The second image, as Ripa himself explains, is a hieroglyph given in Piero Valeriano's treatise, which presents figures

(V) A woman playing a cittern with a broken string, and in place of the string there is a grasshopper. On her head she has a nightingale, that most famous bird, and at her feet a great cask of wine and a lyre with its bow. The grasshopper represents music as pictured in a particular event which happened to a certain Eunomio who, when playing one day in competition with Aristoxenus the musician, broke a string in the middle of the most sweet playing and immediately a grasshopper flew above the cittern completing with its song [...]. Wine is pictured because Music was found to content the soul just as wine does and also because a good and delicate wine greatly helps the melody of the voice. Moreover it was said by the ancient poets that the musicians Cureti accompanied Bacchus.

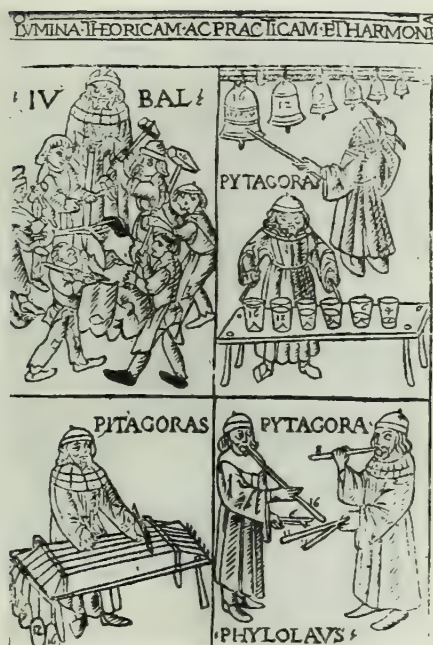
9 For the image of Lady Music, accompanied from the 12th century by the figure of its most representative exponent, see Seebass 1988; for the tendency to substitute its Hebrew counterpart Iubal/Tubal, see Brown 1984.

10 It is enough to remember those of Andrea da Firenze in the Cappella degli Spagnoli, or those (now lost), executed by Giusto de' Menabuoi for the Cappella Cortellieri in the Chiesa degli Eremitani in Padua, in which Music appears together with the other Arts, each accompanied by its own inventor. The miniatures, such as those executed by Niccolò da Bologna to illustrate the *Canzone dei vizi e delle virtù* by Bartolomeo de' Bartoli, are essential to the circulation of the iconographic schemes and attributes: for the codex, dedicated to Brizio Visconti, see Dorez 1904. Another miniature, probably the source of some 15th-century frescoes, illustrate the *Institutiones* by Cassiodorus in a codex dated about 1330–40 that originally belonged to Petrarch: see Avril 1984: 85–6, pl. XI; for the frescoes of Padua, see Schlosser, 1896: 13–100, and Venturi 1899 and 1902. See also Brown 1984ff.

11 For this iconographic scheme that appears in Italy during the first quarter of the 14th century, see Brown 1984: 31–5.

12 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Marciano lat. cl. XIV n. 35, fol. 149v; see D'Ancona 1902: 287, with reproduction.

13 Hind, I, 221–40 ("North Italian designs. The governor of the world. Two series of fifty instructive prints of playing cards. The so called Tarocchi cards of Mantegna"); see also Cieri Via 1987: 49–77. The iconographic schemes fixed by the *Tarocchi*, in their turn, had a strong impact on Italian Renaissance painting. As for the music



1. Jubal and Pythagoras discovering the ratios of the consonances, in Gaffurio, *Theorica musicae*, 1492: fol. vi. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

2. *Typus musices*, in Reisch, *Margarita philosophica*, 1504, liber V. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

and symbols that must be of ancient Egyptian derivation. Valeriano's book, first published in 1556, had a great influence on other 16th-century treatises, and fomented that fashion for hieroglyphs which originated among the humanists of the early 15th century.¹⁴ Ripa, as we shall discover later, fully acknowledges this source pictorially; the quotation, in this case, is of particular interest because it is substantially a "translation", allusive and ciphered, of the typical humanistic identification of Apollo and the Muses with Music. The strange "Egyptian" figure, is in fact, explained in this way: "dentes enim Musarum instar sunt" while "per linguam vero quae illos pulset, Apollinem [...] intelligimus" (Valeriano 1595: 462).

Yet another image seemingly taken from Valeriano is that of Zephyr and the swans (IV), which is found in Book XXIII of the *Hieroglyphica*, accompanied by a corresponding illustration (fig. 4).¹⁵ The swan, an image presented in literary tradition as an attribute of Music, is also found in paintings connected to the *Tarocchi del Mantegna*, and in complex and refined representations which are linked to the humanist revival of classical themes. One of these, the *Allegory of Music* by Filippino Lippi, is one of the most valuable examples of classical revival,

in particular, the *Tarocchi's* influence can be found already in some late 15th-century miniatures, such as those executed for Federico da Montefeltro to decorate the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercuri* codex, and *De gentiliū deorum imaginibus* by Ludovico Lazzarelli.

14 Some remarks on the diffusion of hieroglyphs, and a list of the chief editions and translations of Valeriano's book can be found in Praz 1947: 167.

15 Valeriano 1595: 211–9, in particular 213 (Liber XXIII *De iis quae per olorem, lusciniā, psittacum, et alias aliquot aves significantur*).



3. *Musica XXXVI*, engraving from the so-called *Tarocchi del Mantegna*. – Photo: after Hind, pl. 345 – Alberto Fantini, Bologna

4. *Pictura Zephiri*, in Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 1595: 213. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

though one not without misunderstandings and inaccuracies (Panofsky 1971: 235–6); here the presence of the swans and the swelling of the veil of the central female figure demonstrate the presence of Zephyr (fig. 5).

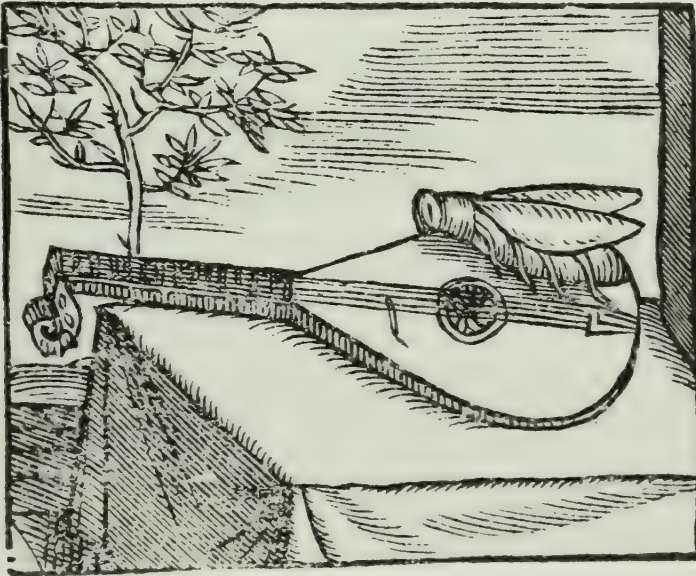
In Ripa's last portrait of Music (V), as in the first, various figures that follow the emblematic tradition are epitomized. Once again they are taken from Valeriano, who is not quoted, but is evoked by Ripa when he refers specifically to "hieroglifico". The nightingale, the wine, and the lyre are, in fact, none other than figurative representations of certain literary traditions collected by Valeriano, who associates the flexibility and gentleness of the voice of the nightingale with music (Valeriano 1595: 213–4) and speaks of wine as "stimulus musices" (referring to the ancient writers who examined the relationship between joy, wine, and music).¹⁶ The story of Eunomio and the cicada is of literary origin and has its own figurative history, already illustrated in Valeriano (fig. 6),¹⁷ from whom Ripa takes the principal attribute, the "citara" with the broken string. This episode gave rise in the course of the 16th century to an emblem included by Andrea Alciato in his book. Under the title of "*Musica diis curae esse*" this emblem, accompanied by an explanatory epigram, exemplifies, among other things, the discrepancy between the literary and iconographic traditions which almost always accompanied the revival of classical texts and terms. The "cithara" mentioned in the verse is, in fact, variously illustrated by a "citola", a lyre, a lute, or an imaginary stringed instrument; the various editions and translations of the *Emblemata* offer us a detailed panorama of the interpretation in some cases

¹⁶ Valeriano 1595: 509–21, in particular 515 (Liber LIII *Quae per oleam, vitem et ficum significantur*).

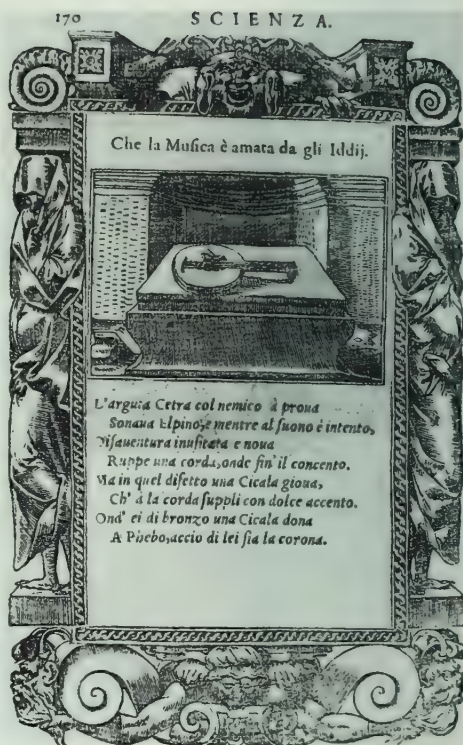
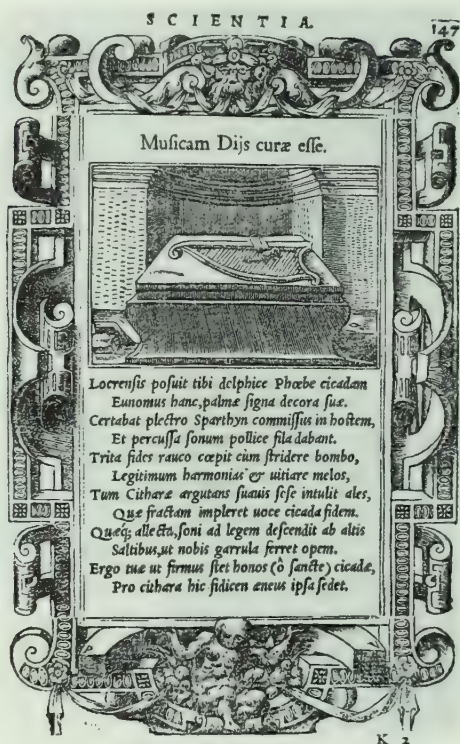
¹⁷ Valeriano 1595: 239–51, in particular 250 (Liber XXVI *Quae per apem et id genus caetera significantur ex sacris aegyptiorum litteris*).



5. Filippino Lippi, *Allegory of Music*, oil on canvas. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. – Photo: after Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence – Artini Archives, Florence



6. *Musica*, in Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 1595: 250. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna



7. *Muscam Dijs curae esse*, in Alciato, *Emblemata*, 1548: 147. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

8. *Che la Musica è amata da gli Iddij*, in Alciato, *Emblemi*, 1576: 170. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

archeological in others contemporary, of the term itself (figs. 7–8). Ripa, by not giving an illustration, leaves the choice in the hands of the artist.

Finally, Ripa's third portrait (III) clearly evokes the contemporary climate in which Lady Music, without exceptions, appears as a performer. Although it is impossible to establish direct links with any particular painting, there is no doubt that the thread starting from Ripa's model ultimately leads to a number of early 17th-century paintings in which the representation of the discipline of music is indistinguishable from contemporary portraits of young musicians. One can recall Bernardo Strozzi's *Music* (fig. 9) or Domenichino's *Santa Cecilia*: where Strozzi gives a female violinist, Domenichino a female viola da gamba player.¹⁸

A sixth, implicit, portrait of Music is found in Ripa's image of *Poesia*, which is described in this way:

Donna vestita del colore del cielo, nella sinistra mano tenga una lira et con la destra il plectro, sarà coronata d'alloro et a' piedi vi sarà un cigno [...].¹⁹

A second image, this time accompanied by an illustration, shows a

¹⁸ On the representations of Music between the medieval and the modern era, see Seebass 1983: 78–81 and Seebass 1988; on Santa Cecilia, see Staiti 1989.

¹⁹ Ripa 1618: 215. "A woman dressed in the colour of the sky, holding a lyre in her left hand and a plectrum in her right, who must have a crown of laurel leaves and a swan at her feet".



9. Bernardo Strozzi, *Music*. Genova, Palazzo Bianco. – Photo: after Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence – Artini Archives, Florence

Giovane bella vestita d'azzurro celeste sopra il qual vestimento vi saranno molte stelle, sarà coronata d'alloro [...] con tre fanciulli alati che volandole intorno uno le porga la lira e il plectro, l'altro la fistola et il terzo la tromba, et non volendo [...] ingombrare troppo il luogo, i detti istromenti si poseranno appresso di essa [...]. [fig. 10]²⁰

The identification of *Poesia* by means of musical attributes (not only through instruments, but also through the swan itself) transposes the classical theme of the profound affinity between music and poetry into images; this also gave rise to a rich iconographic tradition. While the lyre, the instrument used *par excellence* to accompany singers is attributed to *Poesia*, and therefore to poets from the middle of the 15th century²¹ (fig. 11), the identification of the principal poetic

20 Ripa 1618: 217, "Beautiful young girl dressed in celestial blue on whose clothing there are many stars, who must be crowned in laurel leaves [...] with three young winged boys flying around her, one offering her a lyre and a plectrum, another the pipes and the third a trumpet, and, if one does not want [...] to fill the place too much, those instruments will be placed down beside her".

21 Some interesting examples of early-16th-century engravings in which poets, rhetoricians, and writers are accompanied by the *lira da braccio*, which symbolizes poetic inspiration, are found in Winternitz 1982: 263–75 ("La lira da braccio"), figs. 145–7.



10. *Poesia*, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 417. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna



11. *Man of letters and lyra da braccio*, in Darius Tibertus, *Epithome Plutarchi*, 1501: fol 4v. – Photo: after Mortimer, pl. 390 – Alberto Fantini, Bologna



12. *Poesia XXXVII*, engraving from the so-called *Tarocchi del Mantegna*. – Photo: after Hind, pl. 346 – Alberto Fantini, Bologna

genres by means of musical instruments is also found in various early 16th-century Italian pictures. Two key illustrations in the long series of representations illustrating the ideal sisterhood of the two arts are the engravings already noted, known as the *Tarocchi del Mantegna*, which represent *Musica* (fig. 3) and *Poesia* (two versions, fig. 12) as almost identical figures. The image of *Poesia*, shown in the *Tarocchi* playing the flute and pouring water from a fountain, is one of the possible sources for a number of iconographically complex pictures such as the *Concert champêtre* attributed to Giorgione.²² The analogy — if not identity — of *Musica* and *Poesia*, is made evident by the repertoire of attributes found in the portraits of musicians and poets and in evocative scenes such as those described by Winternitz as “allegories of inspiration”²³ (fig. 13), which culminate in the 17th century in the many paintings of crowned singers and poets portrayed as inspired string-instrument players.²⁴ The theme of the sisterhood of the two art forms, confirmed in 16th-century poetics of the madrigal²⁵ is then, by Ripa's time, amply distributed and popularised, not only in pictorial but also in poetic and literary works. Thus the famous declaration that appears in the dedication to Lucrezia Della Rovere of Luzzasco Luzzaschi's *Sesto libro dei madrigali a cinque voci* could easily be an ideal caption to one of Ripa's images:

Sono la musica e la poesia tanto simili e di natura congiunte che ben può dirsi [...] ch'ambe nascessero ad un medesimo parto in Parnaso [...]. Né solamente si somigliano queste gemelle nell'arie e nel sembiante, ma di più godono ancora della rassomiglianza degli abiti e delle vesti. Se muta foggie l'una cambia guise anche l'altra.²⁶

The *Iconologia* gives concrete form to just such descriptions and, by providing us with the image of the “twin” to whom Music seems to cede its own appearance and manner, gives a true portrait of the new *seconda prattica* and its expressive goal.²⁷

3. Other allegories and figures

In addition to these, the *Iconologia* also contains a dozen images which do not directly represent aspects of music theory or practice, but which nevertheless use instruments as attributes: in these cases, judgements of and observations about music are formulated in an indirect, and therefore all the more illuminating, way. In contrast with the usual procedure in 16th-century emblem books, Ripa's images are always didactic, often in a moralizing way. His choice of which musical instruments to depict, and his interpretation of them, also reveal contemporary attitudes towards music, based on contemporary practice.

In some of these cases, the choice of a particular musical instrument, simply depends either on a literary tradition or on a well-established iconography. This is the case, for example, with

22 For the interpretation of the *Concert champêtre* as an illustration of poetic genres, see Klein 1975: 200–12 (“La biblioteca della Mirandola e il Concerto campestre di Giorgione”). See also Egan 1959: 303–13.

23 Winternitz 1982: 237–49 (“Il musicista ispirato”).

24 See, for example, *Michelangelo contemplating poetry*, by Cristofano Allori and Zanobi Rosi, in Pizzorusso 1982: 140 (pl. 48).

25 Bianconi 1986: 319–63, especially 319–27.

26 Luzzaschi 1596, “Music and poetry are so similar and so united by nature that one may well say that [...] both originate in the same part of Parnassus [...] They are not only similar in their airs and features, but they even resemble each other in clothing and habits. If one changes shape the other also alters its guise”.

27 On the rhetorization of music, see Gurlitt 1944/85: 105.



13. Anonymous, *Allegory of Inspiration*. Ottawa, Th. A. Heinrich Collection. – Photo: after Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence – Artini Archives, Florence.

the images of *Sapienza humana* (fig. 14) and of *Mondo* (fig. 15). The latter, also previously discussed by Boccaccio, Giraldis and Cartari, is probably taken over by Ripa from Valeriano, in which a similar figure appears (Valeriano 1595: 87). It is worth noting that the image is in fact that of the bucolic divinity, thus translating into the figure the two meanings of the Greek word that indicates either the god (Πάν) and “the whole” (neutre πᾶν). While, according to Valeriano, the musical instrument symbolizing the world represents the blowing of the wind of which it is an imitation, Ripa associates the panpipes (to which he refers as “fistola a sette canne”), with Pan himself who was considered its inventor (Ripa 1618: 349). A third case of this type of image can be seen in Ripa’s discussions of *Le Muse*, where some of them are characterized by musical instruments. This time Ripa offers us three different literary descriptions, not original at all, and without corresponding illustrations. In the first one can recognize the echo of an ancient tradition, which began in the second half of 15th century, according to which Clio plays the trumpet, Euterpe a wind instrument, and Erato the lyre (Ripa

S A P I E N Z A H V M A N A .



14. *Sapientia humana*, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 456. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

M O N D O

Come dipinto dal Boccaccio nel primo libro della *Genealogia* delli Dei, con le quattro sue parti.



15. *Mondo*, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 348. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

1618: 358). Ripa's other descriptions simply refer to celebrated series of paintings belonging respectively to a Florentine gentleman and to the Cardinal di Ferrara (Ripa 1618: 361).²⁸

A further set of emblems, unconnected with mythological tales (e.g., *Fama*, *Stampa*, etc.), also sometimes draws upon musical images. Here the choice of an instrument, and the establishment of its significance, rests on a kind of rudimentary but ancient and firm iconographic tradition that draws a distinction between stringed and wind instruments. A negative value is given to wind instruments, while the lute and the harp are associated with poetry and love (Winternitz 1982: 48–54). The principal direct antecedent is again Valeriano, who devotes the whole of book XLVII to the meanings “de iis quae per lyram et arma quaedam alia musica significantur: de lyra, de fidula, de tibiis, de tympanis, de tintinnabulo, de tuba” (Valeriano 1595: 457–61). The transition from Valeriano to Ripa mainly consists in a personalization of the images, i. e. in the transformation of the instrument from being absolutely symbolic to being an attribute. Thus the trumpet, which in Valeriano indicates “celebritas”, in Ripa “significa la gloria e la chiarezza del nome”, and is specifically attributed to *Lode* (fig. 16), to *Stampa* (fig. 17), who “tiene con la destra mano la tromba con il motto *Ubique* per dimostrare la fama che la stampa dà agli scrittori illustrando le opere loro in ogni luogo”, and, in a negative sense, to *Iattanza* (fig. 18), “Donna di superba apparenza, vestita di penne di pavone e nella sinistra tenga una tromba”.²⁹ In *Fortuna* (fig. 19) musical instruments are used to exemplify the variety of gifts that can be bestowed by the goddess: Capacity, Inclinations, and Attitudes, represented by sceptres, crowns, arms, books, jewelry, and, naturally, musical instruments freely granted to mankind. The flute of Pan, the

²⁸ Some remarks on the Renaissance iconography of the Muses can be found in Anderson: 165–201.

²⁹ Ripa 1618: 610, *Lode* “signifies the fame and the clarity of the name”; 631, *Stampa* “holds in her right hand a trumpet with the motto *Ubique* showing the fame printing gives to writers, who can display examples of their work in any place”; 246, *Iattanza*: “A woman of proud appearance, dressed in peacock feathers and holding a trumpet in her left hand”.



16. *Lode*, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 610. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

17. *Stampa*, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 631. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

trumpet, and the lyre, all clearly visible in the foreground of this image, allude to musical and poetic inspiration in its three genres, pastoral, epic and lyric. In the image of *Consuetudine* (fig. 20) musical instruments, imprecisely rendered, are not used symbolically but rather to illustrate artistic activities in general in their practical dimension as handicrafts. This figure is, in fact, that of an “Huomo vecchio [...], con barba canuta et appoggiato ad un bastone [...]. Porterà in spalla un fascio di istrumenti co’ quali s’esercitano l’arti et vicino havrà una ruota d’arrotare coltelli”.³⁰

The image of *Armonia come dipinta in Firenze dal gran Duca Ferdinando* (fig. 21) presents a somewhat special case:

una vaga et bella donna, con una lira doppia di quindici corde in mano, in capo haverà una corona con sette gioie tutte uguali, il vestimento è di sette colori, guarnito d’oro e di diverse gioie.³¹

This figure is clearly taken from some of all various visual and literary commemorative books and engravings which were produced in the wake of the elaborate entertainment given in Florence in May 1589 to celebrate the marriage of Ferdinand I to Christine of Lorraine. The figure of *Armonia*, which was devised by Buontalenti for the first Intermezzo of Girolamo Bargagli’s *La Pellegrina*,³² reappears in one of Agostino Carracci’s engravings. Here it personifies the harmony of the spheres. The association of *Armonia* with the lyre, symbolizing

30 Ripa 1618: 106, “Old man with a white beard, and leaning on a staff. He should carry a bundle of instruments tied to his shoulder with which to exercise his art, and, nearby, he should have the wheel of a knife-grinder”.

31 Ripa 1618: 35 “A beautiful and fascinating woman, holding a double lyre with fifteen strings, having seven similar jewels on her head and wearing a dress of seven colours, decorated with gold and various jewels”.

32 Texts and music of the *Intermedi* are edited by Walker 1963; a detailed description of the feast for the marriage of 1589 is provided by De’ Rossi 1589; see on this subject Warburg 1932/80: 59–107 and Molinari 1987, 263–71. For the origins, preparations, and meanings of the celebrated *Intermezzi*, see also Fenlon 1989: 259–81; Palisca 1989 chapter 7, 208–25; Walker 1989b: 71. On the sketches made by Bernardo Buontalenti for the scenes and the costumes of the Florentine *Intermedi*, see the volume discovered and studied by Aby Warburg (1932/80), including 44 drawings.

F O R T U N A .

I A T T A N Z A .



18. Iattanza, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 246. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

19. Fortuna, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 204. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

C O N S V E T V D I N E .

A R M O N I A .

Come dipinta in Firenze dal gran Duca Ferdinando.

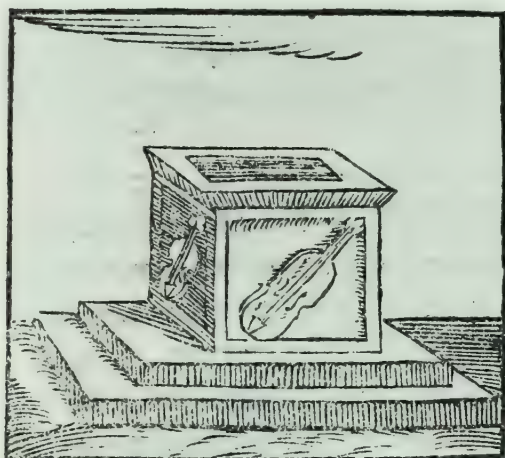


20. Consuetudine, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 106. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

21. Armonia come dipinta in Firenze dal gran Duca Ferdinando, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 35. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

the coincidence between the harmony of the mind and that of a well-tuned instrument,³³ was supported by a rich figurative tradition, codified in 16th-century emblem books and broadly treated in the chapter on musical instruments by Valeriano. In humanistic reinterpretation of the literary sources, however, the classical lyre is often transformed into an actual instrument:³⁴ Valeriano (1595: 45), while explaining the lyra's many symbolic meanings (*Concordia, Iudicium compositum, Ratio, Musica, Amor, Humana vita, Sedatus Animus, Bona disciplina*), illustrates these descriptions with the *lira da braccio* (1595: 45; figs. 22–3). Ripa's *Armonia* plays a viola da gamba (the text speaks of a “double lyre with fifteen strings”). By the 17th century the splendid image of aristocratic music is no longer represented with rotating skies but by a divine female figure — thanks to the *Iconologia*.

BONA DISCIPLINA.



22. *Lyra*, in Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 1595: 45. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

23. *Bona disciplina*, in Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 1595: 45. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

The principle by which instruments are given as attributes to personifications, thereby transferring something of their symbolic meaning to the figure, is also evident in *Sanguigno* and *Piacere*. *Sanguigno* is shown as a happy youth, with blond hair and a ruddy face, singing to lute accompaniment (fig. 24). The lute is very commonly associated with the celestial sphere of Venus in Renaissance art.³⁵ But the instrument is not the only object alluding to the goddess;

33 Many references to the *lyra* representing wise and temperate man, can be founded in *De harmonia mundi* by Francesco Giorgi: see Maillard 1972: 173; on temperament as an essential part of the concept of Harmony, see Spitzer 1967.

34 Winternitz 1982: 263–75, Appendice B. La lira da braccio. For the lira “all’antica” and on the discordance between literary and iconographic traditions, see Panofsky 1960: 191–242, cap. IV, “Rinascimento dell’Antichità: il quindicesimo secolo”.

35 One only needs to recall the *Venus and a musician* by Titian in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. On the thematically rich interrelationships between Music and the sphere of Venus, see Mirimonde 1966: 265–90; see also Lowinsky 1986, where Titian’s painting is given on pl. 8. This tradition continues in numerous paintings and emblem books of the 16th and 17th centuries; see e.g. Hollander 1961.

another is the ram feeding on the grapes. However the principal meaning of the figure is linked to the concept of both harmony and *concordia*. Any string instrument epitomizes the etymological ambiguity associated with this term; its root (**cord*) can be traced both to the heart (*cor, cordis*), and to the cord/string (*chorda*).³⁶ *Concordia* is codified, from Alciato onwards, as an emblem of political union and of treaties, *Foedera* (fig. 25). Furthermore, in the image of *Sanguigno*, the symbolic value of the lute is intensified by a double meaning of *temperament*, which refers to the tuning of an instrument and to the temperaments of the human body. *Piacere*, also personified as a young man with hair "the colour of gold" entwined in a garland of flowers, accumulates the symbolic value of the harp that he holds in his hand. This instrument, often used in mythical and biblical scenes, also belongs, even if in a secondary role, to that

SANGVIGNO PER L'ARIA.



24. *Sanguigno per l'aria*, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 90. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

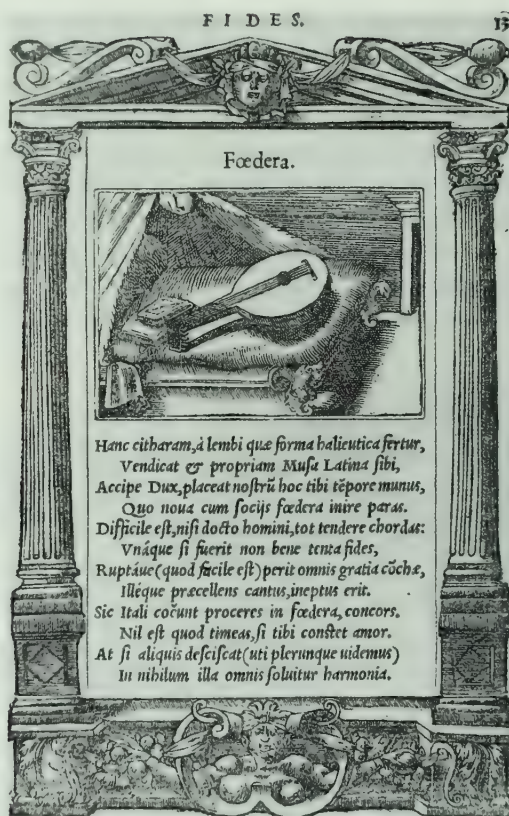
constellation of stringed instruments that in Renaissance paintings carries the meaning of the cithara and of the lyre.³⁷ In this emblem (fig. 26) there is a conscious allusion to the association between Venus and Love, already presented in the first (unillustrated) edition of the *Iconologia*, in which the *Allegrezza d'Amore* is described as "a woman playing the harp", because "l'arpa per la dolcezza del suon si dice haver conformità con Venere et con le Gratie, che così questo con quella diletta gl'animi e ricrea gli spiriti".³⁸

The symbolic significance of the instrument, however, is decidedly subordinated to the general interpretation of the image of *Scandalo*, an old man with open mouth, curled hair, and a white beard, holding a pack of cards in one hand and a lute in the other, with a flute and an open musical manuscript at his feet (fig. 27). The image is far from original; it already existed, for

36 On the translation of the Greek term *ἀμυνία* into the Latin *concordia*, see Spitzer 1967: 110.

37 Some observations about the use of the lute as "Renaissance lyre" can be found in Hollander 1961: 45–7.

38 Ripa 1593: 411, "The harp, for the sweetness of its sound is connected, it is said, to Venus and to the Graces, so that the former and the latter delight the mind and regenerate the spirit".



25. *Foedera*, in Alciato, *Emblemata*, 1548: 13. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna



26. *Piacere*, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 411. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

27. *Scandolo*, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 641. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

Degeneres.



A D V L A T I O N E.



28. *Degeneres*, in Sambuci, *Emblemata*, 1564: 179. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

29. *Adulatione*, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 8. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

example, under the title *Degeneres*, in Sambuci's short emblem treatise (1564: 179) (fig. 28). Here Ripa refers to musical practice in order to impart moral precepts, to demonstrate that "nel vecchio è di molto scandalo attendere alle lascivie, conviti, giuochi, feste, canti et altre vanità".³⁹ Music, although suited to the joviality of youth, should be practiced with moderation, in the same way as all the other pleasures, and never, under any circumstances, by an old man, who should provide an example of wisdom and severity. This moral is founded on an obvious association between music and pleasure, which in the 17th century acquired an even more precise meaning. Whether for solemn occasions or for private functions, 17th-century music is strongly connected to gaiety, and even religious music is understood as a spiritual entertainment. Simple in its written structure and in performance, the fashionable music of the time was explicitly created, according to the long dedications of many printed collections, for the *otium* of illustrious patrons (Stefani 1987; Bianconi 1982: 67–75). By Ripa's time this sense of musical entertainment had evolved from the noble "property of the human mind" of a century earlier,⁴⁰ to the level of a pastime that was now merely appropriate for the young.

The sense of danger which according to 17th-century moralistic interpretation was implicit in music also emerges from the figure of *Adulatione*, "donna [...] che soni la tibia overo il flauto, con un cervo che li stia dormendo vicino a' piedi così che il cervo di sua natura allettato dal suono del flauto [...] si lascia pigliare" (fig. 29).⁴¹ The image of the deer enchanted by music recurs in contemporary literature and is used, for example, by Tommaso Garzoni when he

39 Ripa 1618: 451, "to show that it is most scandalous for an old man to attend lascivious activities, dinners, games, feasts, songs, and other vanities".

40 It is enough to remember these concepts as vulgarised, for example, by Reisch 1504, Liber V, *De principiis musicæ*. In the Italian edition of 1600: "Niuna cosa è così propria della humanità che l'allargar l'animo con i suavi concenti [...] il che si vede chiaro in tutti li studi et in tutte le etadi percioché i fanciulli, i giovani et i vecchi grandemente si diletano".

41 Ripa 1618: 8, "Woman who is playing the pipe or flute, with a deer sleeping near her feet, so that the deer, naturally attracted to the sound of the flute [...] allows itself to be caught".

speaks of the effects of music and recalls “i cervi che si pigliano al suono della piva”.⁴² Once again, however, the source claimed by Ripa is Valeriano, who cites the figure of the deer attracted by the “pasturali fistula” as an example of *Adulation* (Valeriano 1595: 60). In general, Western culture assigned a negative value to wind instruments, associating them with instincts, the irrational, and the Dionysiac in contrast to the Apollonian lucidity, rationality and harmonic balance represented by stringed instruments. In this image of *Adulazione* open reference is made to the power of music which regenerates the spirit, enchants the animals, and dominates the forces of nature. Here, translated into images and presented in highly simplified form, are the principal themes, derived from Ficino’s thought, of the magical powers of music.⁴³

4. Ripa’s *Puglia* and Italian folk music

This magical aspect is even more apparent in the allegorical depiction of the region of Apulia, an emblem that appears for the first time in the 1618 edition (fig. 30). *Puglia* is shown as a young woman dancing, dressed in a light, flowing veil infiltrated with tarantulas. On her head she wears a garland of olives, in her hands are ears of corn, and at her side “diversi stromenti da sonare et in particolare un tamburino et un piffaro” (Ripa 1618: 287). The tarantulas and the musical instruments refer specifically to the music-assisted exorcism of tarantism, practised in southern Italy from the Middle Ages until today. In his explanation of his image of *Puglia*, Ripa describes the salient points of the phenomenon, which was definitively recorded and interpreted by the Italian anthropologist Ernesto De Martino some thirty years ago.⁴⁴ The mythical tarantula, which does not correspond to any known species of spider, bites in the summer season and provokes a variety of reactions in its victims: “some people sing, some laugh, some cry, some shout, some stay awake, some jump, some tremble, some perspire or suffer from various other complaints” (De Martino 1961). The various effects of the poison are counteracted by a therapeutic rite in which those effects are alleviated and absorbed by music. In Ripa’s image, a variety of instruments is represented at the feet of *Puglia*, alluding to the diversity of melodies and rhythms used in the course of the rite, necessary since each victim shows a predilection for particular sounds and timbres. As explained by ancient popular tradition reported in the earliest available document about tarantism, the *Sertum papale de venenis* of 1362, the tarantula, as it bites, “cantum producit quendam”, so that the victim only benefits when he listens to an appropriate melody; any other sound would produce no effect at all.⁴⁵ “Some dance to the sound of guitar music, some to the cittern and some to the violin”, wrote Domenico Sangenito at the end of the 17th century (quoted in De Martino 1959: 140); and already in the first half of the 16th century the Neapolitan scholar Alessandro D’Alessandro noted that “the bagpipe or violin player performs various motifs, according to the quality of the poison” (quoted in De Martino 1961: 133). Among the instruments represented by Ripa at the feet of *Puglia* is the tambourine, dance instrument *par excellence* and without doubt one of the

42 Garzoni 1588: 431, “the deer who are captured through the sound of the bagpipes”.

43 On Ficinian theories of the power of the music, based on the affinity between the material medium in which it is transmitted (air) and the soul of man, see: Walker 1989a: 89–95, “La teoria dello spirito musicale.” See also Tomlinson 1989: 121–39.

44 De Martino 1961; idem 1959: 140–4; idem 1963.

45 De Martino 1961: 230–1. Kircher explains these propensities, making connections with the “temperaments” of the tarantula’s victims themselves, see Kircher 1641: 865–91, Libri tertii caput VIII “De tarantismo [...] eiusque magnetismo ac mira cum musica sympathia”.



30. Puglia, in Ripa, *Nuova iconologia*, 1618: 287. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

most representative instruments of the rite, together with the drum and fife.⁴⁶ In this context, it is worth remembering the literary and iconographic tradition that leads to, among other things, Kircher's description: "aliqui enim afficiuntur tympano quodam, vulgo surdastro plectris ligneis utraque parte pulsari solito, cui consonare faciunt, ut plurimum fistulam pastoriciam, (vulgo la Zampogna rustica de' pastori) [...]" (Kircher 1641: 877). By contrast with all the other images in the *Iconologia*, *Puglia* represents a totally new kind of image, one that had not appeared in any earlier emblem book; to this extent, *Puglia* reflects a prevalent mode of thought that is not merely dependent upon accumulated tradition as are all the rest of Ripa's emblems.

Many Italian 17th-century paintings, engravings, and prints show popular musicians; bagpipers, street musicians and country dancers. All these images demonstrate the heterogeneous character of the contemporary world; they also show, in a more subtle way, the unprecedented attention that artists (or in many cases, their patrons), were now paying to musicians and their instruments. This is clearly reflected not only in paintings and in other images but also in literary manuscripts, and in pieces of music (notably for instruments) in which the traditional melodies of popular culture are used. In paintings and prints players and popular instruments seem to belong first and foremost to the infinite number of "objects" contained in the world, and they are portrayed with the same care and attention to detail that was given to stones, pathways, ruins, and curiosities. In certain ways the interest shown towards the world of popular music can be connected to the widespread interest in the customs of foreign lands, in diversity of every kind, and in a sort of social "exoticism" that accompanied but always preserved a certain distance from pure ethnological inquiry. Sometimes, as in the works of Bambocianti, dancing farm labourers and music-making shepherds are an integral part of the gracious, joyful and peaceful scenes that were appreciated by the nobility, partly since they helped to sublimate the threat of an expanding working class. As Salvator Rosa put it in the

46 On the use of the tambourine in the therapeutic rite of tarantism, see Staiti 1990; Guizzi and Staiti 1989.



31. *Magic music*, in Kircher, *Phonurgia nova*, 1673: 206. – Photo: Alberto Fantini, Bologna

Satire, the aristocracy “abhorred in the flesh what they adored in painting” (cited after Briganti 1983: 356; cf. also Guizzi 1990). The wide-spread interest shown in tarantism, however, and the vast number of references made to Apulian musicians in 17th-century literature, can be explained by the strangeness of the phenomenon itself. 17th-century scholars and scientists showed a growing interest in the subject of tarantism,⁴⁷ which entered so deeply into the collective imagination that it inspired literary works such as Giacomo Lubrano’s *Stravaganze velenose della tarantola* (Lubrano 1954: 1041). Within the more general context of the idea of the magical nature of art, which had unprecedented success in that period (Klein 1975: 161–72), musical exorcism offers a real and verifiable example of the mysterious power of music, so much that those popular musicians who would otherwise have been regarded with scorn acquired prestige and were even compared to the mythical singers and players of classical antiquity. Justified by the pretext of an association with the powers and “effects” of music, sacred, theatrical and open-air (“all’aria”) compositions had a common denominator: the extraordinary mysterious quality of sounds, which can stimulate celestial visions, render images lifelike and liberate from the effects of poison. This same popular music, which would have

47 Kircher 1641, *Libri tertii* [...] pars octava sive De potenti musicae magnetismo, cap. 2: “De Tarantismo sive de mirabilibus Tarantulae effectibus eiusque in homine magnetismo”; idem 1650: 218–24, liber IX, caput IV: “De Tarantulae morsu intoxicatorum cura prodigiosa per musicam”; idem 1673: 204–16, caput IV “De tarantulae morsu intoxicatorum cura prodigiosa per musicam”.

been regarded with total disdain under normal circumstances, gained respect by proving, where other means had failed, the extraordinary power of music.

The connection between elements that could seem vastly different is perfectly clear and consciously expressed by contemporary writers, and gave rise to representations, such as that in Kircher's treatise. Here Orpheus, the most important of all those mythical figures who managed to obtain prodigious results through music, seems to be superimposed on the figure of the exorcist/musician (fig. 31) (Kircher 1673: 206). This connection, based on the powers of music, is illustrated by Vincenzo Giustiniani in his *Discorso sopra la musica*. After speaking about the beneficial effects produced by music on the victims of the tarantula, he continues:

Potrei a questo proposito addurre li molti et vari effetti che gli autori antichi scrivono della musica usata dagl' Arcadi et altre favolette come quelle delle Sirene, d' Anfione, di Marsia, d' Arione, d' Apollo delle Muse e d' Orfeo.⁴⁸

These ideas are also popularized in the *Contrasto musico* by Grazioso Uberti. Speaking of the various "wonderful effects" produced by open-air music ("serenate") he explains that its first effect is to console the afflicted soul, its second to placate frenzy, and the third to bring good cheer and purge the atmosphere. He then provides examples to correspond with each of these three types; the first is the tarantula bite which is healed with sound, the second is that of Terpander, who suppressed the insurrection of the Lacedemonians by playing the lyre, and the third is the example of the Greeks who liberated themselves from the plague by singing (Uberti 1630: 138–40). There are no pictorial traces of those extraordinary popular performers whom writers associated with the mythological magic power of music in Antiquity; but the fact that Ripa considered their music as a characteristic enough to make it a part of the personification of *Puglia* perhaps gives us an even more vivid portrait of them and in the process provides a glimpse of that unwritten tradition, for the most irrecuperable, which is an essential part of our understanding of 17th-century musical experience.

48 Giustiniani 1628: 98–128, particularly 116–7, "I could add, on this subject, the many and various results that the ancient authors report about the music used by the Arcadians and in other tales such as those of Sirens, of Amphion, Marsyas, Arion, Apollo and the Muses, and of Orpheus".

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Satyr and shepherds: musical instruments within mythological and sylvan scenes in Italian art*

Nico Staiti

This article offers some reflections on possible interpretations of the role played by musical imagery within the depiction of mythological, sylvan and rustic subjects in Italian art from the end of the 16th century to the 19th century. It does not propose to give a systematic account of an iconographic repertory which is both extensive and polymorphous; rather, it presents methods of approach and points of view which might prove to be useful for a more ample and systematic investigation of the subject.

1. Satyr and shepherds, utopia and carnival

The history of the representation of mythological and bucolic themes in Italian art follows, for the most part, the history of theatrical *rappresentazioni* of similar subject. Towards the end of the 16th century “pastoral” theater, in both its secular and sacred repertoires, was profoundly influenced by the comic *di piazza* tradition of mediaeval origins (Pieri 1983: 65–8 and 85–90). “L’eredità letteraria di pastorelle, *lais* ovidiani e rime per musica” writes Marzia Pieri. “si incrocia al più remoto folklore stagionale, legato soprattutto alle feste di primavera” (1983: 85). In the visual arts, as in drama, bucolic settings of classical origins are often superimposed on rustic or pastoral settings depicted from life, under the influence of folk drama and seasonal festivities. The theme of *carpe diem*, connected with the precariousness of bucolic felicity, becomes confused with the rural hedonism of May festivities and the *rappresentazioni carnevalesche*. Maria Pieri continues:

[...] e così possono confondersi età dell’oro e nostalgia utopica del paese di Cuccagna. Una delle più significative e persistenti ambivalenze di questo genere è quella che avvolge il personaggio magico e agreste del satiro-uomo selvatico, la cui natura extraumana esita a lungo tra i due poli opposti di divinità silvestre, depositaria di una naturalità assoluta simbolicamente sessuale, e di bestia immonda e foiosa, scambiata spesso e volentieri col villano. Tale oscillazione si lega alla più vasta questione del

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primitivismo “buono” o “cattivo” dibattuta nel Quattrocento: dal neoplatonico satiro mezzo-uomo illuminato da Minerva del Brunelleschi, ai satiri-vizi scacciati dalla stessa Minerva dal giardino delle Virtù nel Mantegna, al magico becco, compagno dell’arpia, dominante la scena satirica secondo il Cesariano.¹

Again, as in drama, one can distinguish two categories of representations that illustrate and articulate the dialectic relationship between culture and nature, which, beginning with fifteenth century debate, becomes clarified in Renaissance and Baroque thought. Such categories are to be found at two opposite poles of a continuum populated by a vast range of intermediate manifestations.

In these iconographic repertoires the connection between the images of mythological or generically “classicizing” subject and representations of contemporary pastoral scenes, more or less depicted from life, is evident: the scenes of classical inspiration are often connected with contemporary life through the presence of contemporary musical instruments commonly used in the pastoral or peasant world (as is the case of the numerous 15th- and 16th-century prints of satyrs playing fiddles, hurdy-gurdies and recorders). Images of contemporary sylvan scenes undergo, for their part, a process of relative abstraction from the present, through the projection of a fairy-tale or mythological atmosphere: this too is very often evident in certain 16th-century engravings, which show elderly shepherds and youths of the rustic type playing panpipes, shawms and bladder pipes within scenes very similar to those of images of imaginary personages of classical inspiration; the product, moreover, of the same cultural environment, and at times the work of the same designers and engravers. There emerges from these iconographic repertoires a precise awareness of cultural continuity between the idea of the pastoral world of classical memory and the concrete existence of contemporary pastoral figures, amidst Dionysiac revels and carnival cortèges. This awareness has produced two approaches which are contrasting and at the same time parallel: through the citation of myths, on the one hand, it allowed the present to be immortalized, liberated from the pettiness of daily life, transforming the real world into an eternal Golden Age. On the other hand, with it came the risk of a debasement of the abstract purity of utopia by mingling it with the heavy corporeity of the *mondo alla rovescia* (see Cocchiara 1981: 189–99). It was therefore sometimes felt necessary, above all in the most sophisticated urban environments, to separate the mythical ideal from the vulgar intrusion of the real world, the utopian image of the Golden Age from that of the coarse, from real, uncouth shepherds and peasants. Thus, for example, Giovan Battista Doni, in his *Trattato della musica scenica* (1635), found it necessary to specify:

Quanto [...] alla pastorale [...] non dobbiamo immaginare che i pastori siano di questi sordidi e volgari che oggi guardano il bestiame, ma quelli del secolo antico, nel quale i più nobili esercitavano quest’arte.²

- 1 “And thus the Golden Age merges with the utopian nostalgia of the *paese di Cuccagna*. One of the most significant and persistent ambivalences of this kind is that which involves the magical rustic figure of the *satiro-uomo selvatico*, whose non-human nature vacillates between the two opposing sides of the sylvan god: depositary of a naturalness symbolic of sexuality, and an unclean, lustful animal, often confused or exchanged with the figure of the peasant. Connected with this is the larger question of the “good” or “bad” primitivism debated in the fifteenth century: from Brunelleschi’s Neoplatonic satyr, half-man, enlightened by Minerva, Mantegna’s satyr-voices who are expelled by the same Minerva from the Garden of Virtue, to the evil goat, the companion of harpies, who dominates Cesariano’s satirical scenes”. Pieri 1983: 136–7. For the relationship between the utopian Golden Age and the folk myth of the *Paese di Cuccagna*, see Cocchiara 1980: 159–87, and Cocchiara 1981: 66–9.
- 2 “With regard [...] to the pastorale, [...] we must not imagine that the shepherds are those sordid and vulgar persons who today look after the livestock, but those of ancient times, during which the most noble people practised this art”. Ed. Solerti: 57, cited in Bernardoni and Guidobaldi, 1990: 607.

2. The lyre and *aulos* as opposing symbols of spirit and body. The “updating” of instruments of satyrs and the idealisation of instruments of shepherds

One can detect, then, as has been said above, two categories of images that illustrate the relationship between culture and nature: the first emphasizing the distance that separates the spheres of the spirit and the corporeal; the other, on the contrary, resolving the contrast between these two separate universes, reconciling them in a utopian representation of a mythical Golden Age brought up-to-date in a homogeneous and integrated world.

The first of these categories illustrates the inflexible opposition of the Dionysiac — the orgiastic realm of the body and the earth, of the corybantic *mania* and the carnival (see Guizzi and Staiti 1991) —, to the sublimity of the Apollonian order, the universe of the spirit and of reason, of poetry, of philosophic speculation and of “ethical” music. Such opposition is often demonstrated in the symbolic confrontation of stringed instruments and wind instruments, intended as contrasting symbols of high and low, heaven and earth, spirit and body, culture and nature.³

A painting by Giovanni Manozzi (known as Giovanni da Sangiovanni, 1592–1636)⁴ depicts a group of satyrs chasing the Muses and the Poets from Parnassus (*fig. 1*). At the top of the mountain a satyr climbs a tree to exchange the symbols of poetry and spirituality with those of *musica dell'ebbrezza*; having attached a panpipe to a branch, he sets about removing the viola da gamba that had been suspended from the same tree. Another satyr, at the foot of the tree, points out the scene to a nymph. Here the antinomy between chaste love and *amor ferinus* of Ficinian origin⁵ is the principal theme of the composition, in all probability produced with admonitory and moralistic purpose. The opposition is symbolically synthesized in the image of the panpipe, a rustic and pastoral instrument and at the same time symbol of sexuality, which deposes the viola da gamba: the modern equivalent of the lyre of Apollo, the symbol of poetic inspiration par excellence. The lyre and its modern descendents can furthermore be understood as the materialization of the concept of measure both in the Pythagorean sense (of a geometrically measured string), as in meaning sober, moderate, controlled and determined by reason. This second meaning may have influenced the decision to modernize only that instrument which idealises and uses the faculty of reason, leaving the instrument embodying irrational nature in the simplest and most archaic form of the panpipe, as depicted in ancient iconography (see Fubini 1984: 29–31).

The classical antinomy between measured string instruments and the family of flutes or reed pipes, sylvan instruments of intoxication and disorder, is reflected in the modern musical

3 Winternitz (1967: 152) writes: “Although the old orthodox antinomy between Apollo and Dionysus and their musical monopolies, Paean and Dithyrambus, has by now been blurred and undergone a gradual process of rationalization and reinterpretation in Aristotelian didactic philosophy, nevertheless within this process of rationalization the older and deeper-lying antinomy between the orgiastic, intoxicating ‘low’ music and temperate ‘ethical’ music has been preserved, and with it the differing symbolic characters of the kithara and the aulos, of the stringed and the wind instruments. Their symbolic and emotional function was too deeply rooted in mythical tradition — too much a part of immemorial usage to be diluted by such surface phenomena as the succession of philosophical systems and educational doctrines. And their symbolic connotation has in fact not only outlived the ancient gods but persisted down through the ages. It is still firmly bedded in the undercurrents, for instance in the folk music of contemporary civilisations. And this is true especially of the orgiastic instruments, the reed pipes, which have preserved their exciting timbre and symbolic character from the Greek aulos through the Roman tibia, the medieval bagpipe and platterspiel, the shawm of the Renaissance, and the cornemuse and musette of the Baroque and Rococo, to the saxophone of our day”. See also Staiti 1986: 204–5.

4 Giovanni Manozzi, *The Muses and the poets flee from Parnassus*. Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti.

5 For the influence of Neoplatonic philosophy (and in particular that of Marsilio Ficino) on the iconography of the 16th and 17th centuries, see Panofsky 1962: 129–375. For musical symbolism of the *circuitus spiritualis* of the Ficinian concept of love, see also Mossakowsky 1983: 68–70, and Staiti 1989: 34–7, 77–80 and 95.



1. Giovanni Manozzi (detto Giovanni da Sangiovanni), *Le Muse e i poeti fuggono dal Parnaso* (early 17th century). Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti. – Photo: after Banti
2. Nicoletto da Modena, *Pan Deus Arcadiae* (early 16th century). – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, Commentary, n. 078)

categories which preserve this traditional opposition (see above fn. 3). Bagpipes, shawms, and recorders continued in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries — as they continue, at least in part, today — to be considered as rustic instruments, played by shepherds and peasants. The diffusion of these instruments in cultured and aristocratic environments, in which they became fashionable from the end of the 17th century, was, for the most part, the result of conscious choice: the evocation of rural atmospheres, following the influence of Arcadian movements. Numerous stringed instruments, on the other hand, played a notable role in cultured music in the 16th century, and were used by professional musicians or aristocratic *dilettanti* (Staiti 1989: 58–62). The most sophisticated instruments, which allowed a single player to perform complicated polyphony, were for the most part stringed instruments.⁶ The lute, the harpsichord and the viola were held to be the most noble of instruments, worthy of continuing the tradition of the Apollonian lyre, and the mastering of these instruments becomes — from the second half of the 16th century on — part of the cultural baggage of the nobility (Fubini 1984: 61–8 and Staiti 1989: 58–62). 16th- and 17th-century people must have been well aware of the double derivation of the “pastoral” nature of certain instruments: from classical literature and the visual arts on the one hand, and from the performance of pastoral music of oral tradition on the other. Thus, with a consistency which is organological and historical rather than symbolic, the

6 With the important exception of the organ. As sacred instrument par excellence and representing the harmony of the spheres of Boethian origins, it has special symbolic connotations.



3. Benedetto Montagna, *Orfeo* (early 16th century). – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, n. 25)

iconography of the period frequently assigned to Marsyas, Pan, satyrs, and shepherds of the Golden Age bagpipes, shawms, and modern recorders (see *fig. 2*) as up-to-date substitutes for the *auloi* and the panpipes of ancient origins. For similar reasons, as we have seen, they often assigned to Apollo, Orpheus (*fig. 3*) and the Muses *lire da braccio*, viols, and violins as substitutes for the lyre of Greek and Roman iconography.

In many Italian prints of the 16th century one can find satyrs playing or carrying instruments which belong even today to the musical tradition of shepherds and the country world. In representations of a profane nature (as also, indirectly, in some paintings of sacred subjects)⁷ the image of the satyr becomes mixed with that of the shepherd, which to some extent becomes superimposed on, and confused with it (see *figs. 4–5*). In these images the shepherd (placed in the atemporal world of myth directly, or through his musical instruments), is removed from his real existence and set in the fairy-tale, symbolic world of fauns and sylvan deities, the figures of Pan and Marsyas that throng the prints and paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries. In 16th-century prints the iconographic models for the images of sylvan music derive, therefore, from Greek and, above all, Imperial Roman representations; but, as has been said, they undergo a continual updating that renders them at once more effective and less intelligible, establishing a concrete relation between imaginative narration and the real world.⁸ Present in them, and merging with the classical model, is the image of fertility rites of pre-Christian origin, which have survived in all of Italy to some extent until today: the May Day performances, harvest festivities and mummeries of the rites of carnival and Spring, whose chthonic nature and affinity with Dionysiac cortèges is

7 For example, in some *Adoration of the shepherds*. See Staiti 1988: 102–3 and Staiti 1989: 159–62.

8 A syncretism very similar to this — and parallel to it — is to be found in the secular theater of the 16th century: see Pieri 1983: 43–55.



4. Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, *Famiglia di satiri* (early 16th century). – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, n. 16)
 5. Benedetto Montagna, *Giovane pastore con bladder pipe* (early 16th century) – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, n. 27A)

clear (fig. 6).⁹ In short, these iconographic repertoires reveal the precise awareness of a cultural continuity between ancient pastoral iconography and that of the real world of the contemporary shepherd, amidst pagan rite and popular festivity: from which derives, in certain 16th-century iconographies, a frequent identification of the satyr with the peasant or the shepherd.

The satyrs, wild humanized animals (or zoomorphized men), are explicitly compared to shepherds, for the most part in images that are intended to underline cultural differences of class or transmit moralising messages and lead to meditation on the need for man's redemption from the bestial world of the senses. It is easy to interpret, in this way, paintings of *The satyr in a peasant's dwelling*, which are so frequent in the 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁰ A painting by the Flemish artist Jacob Jordaens (Antwerp, 1593–1678, fig. 8)¹¹ is a notable example, containing a highly complex symbolism, the analysis of which, however, goes beyond the scope of this article. This painting depicts a satyr leaning on a chair in front of a table, at which a family of peasants is seated. The scene is set in a rustic home full of objects of daily use and domestic animals (a dog, a cat, a rooster and a cow). The family (an elderly couple, a young woman and

9 Images of the latter have survived in the vase painting of Attica, Apulia, Campania and Sicily of the 5th and 4th centuries BC and the bas-reliefs of Greek and Roman sarcophagi, cf. fig. 7.

10 The scene illustrates one of Aesop's tales reworked by La Fontaine, in which a satyr offers shelter to a passer-by during a storm (see Hall 1974: 363). The depiction of the tale seems, however, to invert the significance of the scene: the large family, the furnishings of the room and the animals which populate it seem to belong to the peasant who here offers hospitality to the satyr, and not viceversa.

11 Jacob Jordaens, *Satyr in a peasant's dwelling* (ca. 1620). Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.



6. *Il gioco della falce.* – Photo: Franco Pinna



7. Krater from Apulia (attributed to the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos; 5th century), detail. Taranto, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 124007. – Photo: Author



8. Jacob Jordaens, *Il satiro in casa del contadino* (ca. 1620). München, Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatgemäldesammlungen. – Photo: Author

two children) seem pleased and excited by the presence of the guest, and welcome him as guest of honour at their meal, as the splendid example of the highest point of their scale of values. The satyr here is the personification of lechery and the demoniac, of the depraved brutishness in which the peasant class live — prevented, by birth and culture, from regulating their lives with the moral and intellectual values belonging to the higher classes. The old peasant, depicted with very marked and somewhat uncouth features, seems to be offering the satyr a large key (a very common sexual symbol) as a gesture of hospitality and reverence. The young woman standing next to the satyr looks at him with an amorous and inviting glance and offers him a basket of fruit containing apples and bunches of grapes, also referring to the pleasures of the senses, to sin, Dionysiac intoxication and fecundity. The satyr, his right hand raised, appears to be entertaining his attentive and admiring audience with a brilliant and seductive conversation.

Elsewhere too, even if in a less direct manner than in that of the painting by Jordaens, one can see how shepherds and contemporary peasants became superimposed on the satyrs who populated countless prints, frescoes, stuccoes and grotesques of this period, and with whom they

exchanged attributes, attitudes, and ambiances. An engraving by Nicoletto da Modena (fig. 9)¹² depicts two satyrs, one of whom is drinking from a curved horn, while the other, crouched on the ground, sucks directly from the udder of the mother goat, to underline his bestiality and to recall that natural world, untouched by cultural influences, which is the environment of these imaginary creatures. The panpipes and *auloi* or double flutes — hung from a tree in the top left corner — besides being the traditional attributes of the satyr in Greek and Roman iconography, are closely related to the musical instruments of contemporary shepherds.



9. Nicoletto da Modena, *Due satiri e una capra* (early 16th century). – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, n. 59)

10. Master of 1515, *Famiglia di satiri* (early 16th century). – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, n. 10)

In the engraving by Nicoletto da Modena, as in the greater part of such prints, and in many paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries, the panpipes are transformed into bundles of recorders of increasing lengths, held together by a ribbon or by stripes of wood (see fig. 10). This, one might think, represents a more or less conscious effort to reinterpret the classical image in the light of contemporary life. Panpipes are (and perhaps have always been) marginal instruments in Italy. Their use is documented with a certain consistency only in the Alpine regions; in the rest of the peninsula they are only occasionally mentioned in modern sources.¹³ The almost total lack of

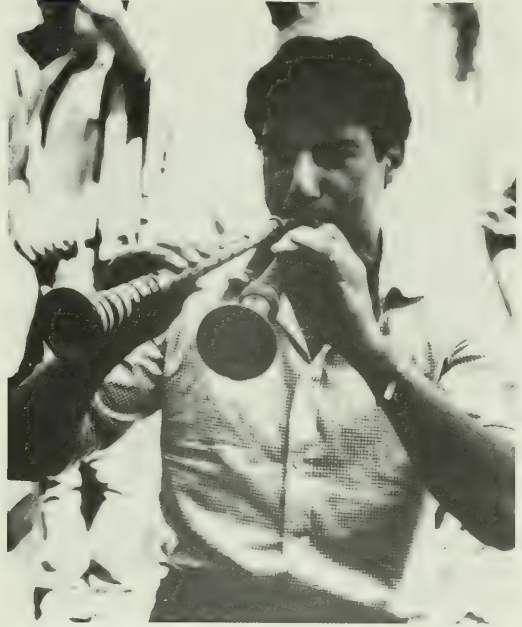
¹² Nicoletto da Modena, *Two satyrs and a goat*. From Strauss 1984: 132.

¹³ The instrument is occasionally reported in Sicily. We read in Leydi and Guizzi 1983a: 32: “The panpipe has not been reported in field work [in Sicily] but the presence of this instrument in Sicily has been noted by Pitù. Two instruments were in the Museo Pitù until 1938 at least [...] one coming from Aragona (Agrigento) and the other from Castoreale (Messina), both with seven pipes [...] These instruments no longer exist today in the collections of the Museo Pitù” (my translation from the original in Italian). Verbal reports of the instrument come from Campobello di Mazara (Trapani), where apparently it was used exclusively on the occasion of wedding festivities: in this popular context, too, it retains its role of symbol of sexuality, which, as will be shown later, is characteristic

modern literary sources for the use of this instrument very probably reflects, as in the past, the scarcity of the instrument, since the attention of foreigners, chroniclers and organologists travelling in Italy was particularly directed towards panpipes (together with double flutes, tambourines and double or triple clarinets), rather than other popular instruments of post-antique origins, even though these latter, such as the bagpipe, might have a more impressive visual and sonorous presence. Instruments of a more archaic type allowed the image of an idealised present to be connected with the image of the ancient Magna Grecia. If painters or writing travellers of the 16th and 17th century enumerated a number of what they considered popular musical instruments, we cannot take these as ethnographic evidence. What we see or read in the chronicles has been the result of “pastoralization” of the *literati*. Then as today these instruments did not or only marginally exist in reality.¹⁴ Engravers and painters rarely had the concrete experience of these instruments which would allow them to interpret correctly the image of panpipes as a agglomeration of end blown flutes; thus, rather than slavishly following classical iconographic traditions, they preferred to “reinvent” the method of producing the sound of the instrument depicted (its ideal relation with the musical instruments of the contemporary shepherd still remaining clear) and to bring it up-to-date with the image of the recorder, which had been in use in Italy for a considerable time. In other cases the panpipe becomes the bagpipe, by reason of a confusion of terminology brought about by the habit — quite common even today — of labelling the former with the term *zampogna*. This is the case (and an unusually early one at that) of a drawing which depicts “Pan silvanus” (fig. 11) presented as a “panic” god (that is, as an image of the Universe, with the sun and the moon on his head and a star nearby), who plays an enormous *zampogna* with seven pipes (composed of a chanter and two drones, with another seven drones in a separate stock), entirely imaginary in form but still deriving from the image of contemporary pastoral instruments.

of pipes in general and panpipes in particular. The extreme specificity and the precise symbolic value of its use at Campobello di Maraza leads us to suppose that the use of this instrument at nuptial rites of south-west Sicily derives from iconographic and literary tradition inspired by classical mythology (in which it was the attribute of satyrs and symbol of carnal love), and do not reflect ordinary use.

- 14 It is no accident that, in the travel diaries of foreigners in Italy from the 17th century until today, one of the most documented instruments is the double flute. This instrument, usually composed of two separate recorders held parallelly or at a slight angle (with the sole exception in Italy of the double flute common in the area of Benevento, which is cut from a single block of wood: see Palmieri 1986), brings to mind the *tibia* and *auloi* of classical history: a past evoked, for foreign travellers, by the sight of architectural ruins and also by the faces and costumes of the people of Calabria and Sicily. This instrument — common still today in Campania, Basilicata, Calabria, and Sicily — was, in the eyes of those who sought echoes of the Idylls of Theocritus in the music of oral tradition, a fine example of the continuity of the Hellenic tradition in the pastoral customs of southern Italy. The English traveller Norman Douglas writes in the first years of this century, with regard to the instruments of the Albanian-speaking peoples in Calabria (1915: 178): “The old Albanian guitar of nine strings has already died out, and the double *tibia* — *biforem dat tibia cantum* — will presently follow suit. This instrument, familiar from classical sculpture and lore, and still used in Sicily and Sardinia, was once a favourite with the Sila shepherds, who called it ‘fischietto a pariglia’. But some years ago I vainly sought it in central Sila: the answer to my enquiries was everywhere the same: they knew it quite well: so and so used to play it; certain persons in certain villages still made it — they described it accurately enough, but could not produce a specimen. Single pipes, yes; and bagpipes galore; but the *tibiae pares* were ‘out of fashion’ wherever I asked for them. Here, in the Greek Sila, I was more fortunate. A boy at the village of Macchia possessed a pair which he obligingly gave me”. Later on in the same work, the Arcadian vein of Douglas is still more evident (ibidem, 221): “You may still find the legendary shepherds here — curly-haired striplings, reclining *sub tegmine fagi* in the best Theocritan style, and piping wondrous melodies to their flocks. These have generally come up for the summer season from the Ionian lowlands. Or you may encounter yet more primitive creatures, forest boys, clad in leather, with wild eyes and matted locks, that take an elvish delight in misdirecting you. These are the Lucanians of old. ‘They bring them up from childhood in the woods among the shepherds’, says Justinus, ‘without servants, and even without any clothes to cover them, or lie upon, that from their early years they may become inured to hardness and frugality, and have no intercourse with the city. They live upon game, and drink nothing but water or milk’ ”.

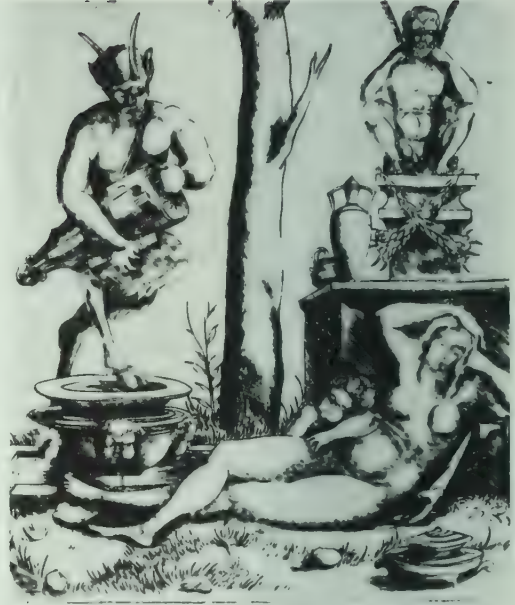


11. Anonymous (15th century), *Pan silvanus*. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Ashburn 1166, fol. 18r. – Photo: Sergio Todesco

12. Player of doppia ciaramella (Campania). – Photo: Roberto Leydi

The relationship between ancient and contemporary musical instruments, between the music of satyrs and the music of shepherds, and thus, between panpipes and oboes, double flutes of antique origin and modern pastoral instruments (*fig. 12*) in some cases is presented explicitly: as in the images of imaginary or mythological personages in which antique instruments are substituted by bagpipes, bladder pipes, recorders, hurdy-gurdies and fidules,¹⁵ which play the same roles as *auloi* and panpipes in the same narrative contexts (see *figs. 13–5*). Moreover, they mark all the intermediate stages of the transformation of scenes of contemporary pastoral life into sylvan scenes of mythological origins: reality is projected into fantasy, and fantasy into reality: the shepherd becomes the satyr and the satyr shepherd, and the relationship between the real pastoral instrument and the instrument depicted becomes a measure of the relationship between the atemporality of myth and the present.

15 Certain stringed instruments, such as the hurdy-gurdy, take on the negative symbolic charge of wind instruments, related to the “baseness” of the body, to sexuality, dance and festivity, by reason of their timbre (strident and penetrating, recalling that of reed pipes), their bourdons, and above all their use. As with vielle and proto-violins, they were used almost exclusively by strolling players who performed in taverns and squares: the “popular” character of some instruments ends by merging with the idea of “naturalness” and with symbolic functions connected with sexuality. Violins, vielle and lire thus have two different and opposing symbolic functions, according to the context in which they are found: in the hands of satyrs, of strolling players and the *giullari* who perform in the taverns, they are symbols of “naturalness” as opposed to reason, of vice and of coarseness; in the hands of Apollo, the Muses or the nobility in certain portraits of the 16th and 17th centuries they refer to Pythagorean theories through Aristotelian “ethos” and are connected with the concept of “measure”.



13. Master of 1515, *Satiro con fidula e ninfa* (early 16th century). – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, Commentary, n. 017)

14. Master of 1515, *Satiro con ghironda e ninfa* (early 16th century). – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, n. 15)



15. Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, *Grottesca with inscription "Victoria Augusta"*, detail (late 15th century). – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, n. 22)

3. Orpheus and the shepherd

Emanuel Winternitz (1967: 150–65) has already discussed the problem of the relationship between stringed instruments and wind instruments — and of their updating to accord with contemporary instruments — in the images of Orpheus, who charms nature, and in the contest between Apollo and Marsyas (see *figs. 16–7*). There are two sister paintings in which the traditional opposition of wind and stringed instruments is stated explicitly; they are by the Sicilian painter Pietro d'Asaro from the first decade of the 17th century (*figs. 18–9*).¹⁶ They show Orpheus seated on a rock in the middle of a clearing, holding a violin, which is the modern substitute for the lyre of ancient iconography. Faithful to the traditional scheme of images of Orpheus — transmitted through the numerous engravings circulating in the previous century — the artist has represented him surrounded by animals of every kind, who are attracted and enchanted by the sound of his music. A shepherd is seated in the lower right hand corner of both paintings. Along with his goat and the whole of the animate and inanimate world of nature, he is overpowered by the music of Orpheus, and he listens in ecstasy to the divine sound, forgetting his bagpipe, which has fallen from his grasp and lies abandoned on the ground. Clearly D'Asaro has brought together in these paintings two iconographic stereotypes: the contest between Apollo and Marsyas, and Orpheus who charms nature. The shepherd — who in one of the paintings has vaguely satyr-like features — has as his attribute a bagpipe, which was and is the traditional Sicilian pastoral instrument (*fig. 20*).¹⁷ It is not improbable that the painter took inspiration from dramatic presentations of the myth of Orpheus; Maria Pia Demma writes:

Il d'Asaro dovette essere molto sensibile e attento a tutti gli eventi culturali del tempo, dalla musica al teatro: i dipinti a sfondo allegorico-mitologico sono un esempio figurativo di quanto parallelamente avveniva nei primi decenni del Seicento con le favole drammatiche di Claudio Monteverdi e con gli intermezzi delle rappresentazioni drammatiche.¹⁸

The commedia *Il ratto di Proserpina* was given in Palermo in 1596 and Monteverdi's *Orfeo* was performed in 1607 (Demma 1984: 29). It is not impossible that in the presentation of *Orfeo* in Palermo the shepherd Aristeo held a bagpipe of the kind that was already used by Sicilian shepherds in the 17th century.¹⁹ In this case the personage of the enchanted shepherd of the paintings might be identified with Aristeo, and the placing of the characters in the paintings might derive directly from those in the dramatic performance.

The iconographic scheme and symbolic structure of the two paintings of Orpheus by d'Asaro can be related to many contemporary paintings of *Adoration of the shepherds*, in which stringed instruments — along with trumpets and organs, sacred instruments by long literary, iconographic and performing tradition — are assigned to angelic consorts, while bagpipes and recorders are held and played by shepherds as distinguishing attributes and symbols of the participation of mankind

16 Pietro d'Asaro (known as "Il Monocolo di Racalmuto", 1579–1647), *Orpheus*, Palermo, private collection; and *Orpheus*, Palermo, Galleria Regionale della Sicilia di Palazzo Abatellis. See Demma 1984: 80–1, and 1985: 11–5; also Staiti 1986: 203–5.

17 See Staiti 1986: 200–5. Furthermore Leydi and Guizzi 1983a: 51–75, and Staiti 1988.

18 "[...] d'Asaro must have been sensitive towards and open to all the cultural events of his time, from music to theater: the paintings with allegorical-mythical settings are a figural example of what was taking place in the first decades of the 17th century with the *favole drammatiche* of Claudio Monteverdi and the *intermedii* of dramatic performances". Demma 1984: 29.

19 The oldest iconographic documentation of the *a paro* bagpipes in Sicily dates from the end of the 16th century. See above note 17.



16. Benedetto Montagna, *Apollo con Pan, Mida e Tmolo* (early 16th century). – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, n. 22)

17. Benedetto Montagna, *Apollo e Marsia* (early 16th century). – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, n. 22)

in the celebration of the coming to earth of God in human form.²⁰ In an *Adoration of the shepherds with saints Clare, Francis and John the Baptist* — also the work of Pietro d'Asaro, and containing all the essential elements of a Counter-Reformation conception of the subject²¹ — amongst the adoring shepherds there is one who carries a triple flute and another an *a paro* bagpipe. As with Aristeo, they do not play their instruments, being lost in contemplation of the Christ child. The music of mankind, in sacred as well as profane iconography, is momentarily silent — “all'accadere dell'evento magico” — to leave room for the sweet harmonies of the celestial vision which cannot be reproduced with the instruments of mankind. A Christological interpretation of the figure of Orpheus allows us to find still greater analogies between the representation of the world enchanted by his music — in particular, the astonished shepherd of d'Asaro's paintings — and the *Adoration of shepherds* and other contemporary sacred images. One of the stereotypical figures recurring in depictions of shepherds adoring the Christ child is that of the “meravigliato”: the shepherd who, with fixed gaze and arms raised towards heaven, visibly shows his ecstatic wonder in the mysterious and magical moment in which God becomes incarnate.²² The taming of the beasts, the

20 See Staiti 1988; Staiti 1989; Staiti 1990.

21 See Demma 1984: 36–9; Staiti 1988, 84–93; Staiti 1989: 156–9.

22 For a list of the personages in Sicilian folk crèches, see Naselli 1932. With reference to the figure of the wondering shepherd see also Staiti 1988: 135–9.



18. Pietro d'Asaro (detto "il Monocolo di Racalmuto"), *Orfeo* (ca. 1609). Palermo, private collection. – Photo: Author



19. Pietro d'Asaro (detto "il Monocolo di Racalmuto"), *Orfeo* (ca. 1609). Palermo, Galleria Regionale della Sicilia di Palazzo Abatellis. – Photo: Author



20. Francesco Mento, Rometta (Messina), Player and builder of a *paro* bagpipes. – Photo: Author



21. Andrea Sacchi, *Marc'Antonio Pasqualini incoronato* (ca. 1636). New York, Metropolitan Museum. – Photo: Museum

wonder of the world are elements which form part of the magical “suspension of cosmic life” at the moment of the birth of Christ, which is told in the Protevangelium of James:

Now I, Joseph, was walking, and (yet) I did not walk, and I looked up to the air and saw the air in amazement. And I looked up at the vault of heaven, and saw it standing still and the birds of the heaven motionless. And I looked at the earth, and saw a dish placed there and workmen lying round it, with their hands in the dish. But those who chewed did not chew, and those who lifted up anything lifted up nothing, and those who put something to their mouth put nothing [to their mouth], but all had their faces turned upwards. And behold, sheep were being driven and [yet] they did not come forward, but stood still; and the shepherd raised his hand to strike them with his staff, but his hand remained up. And I looked at the flow of the river, and saw the mouths of the kids over it and they did not drink. And then all at once everything went on its course [again]. [Hennecke 1963: I, 383–4]

The theme of the suspension of cosmic life borrowed from the apocrypha that has profoundly influenced dramatic and iconographic representations of the birth of Christ, has elements in common with the iconographic and dramatic scheme of Orpheus who stills animal, plant and mineral life with his music.²³ On the other hand Orpheus, as has already been said, is often interpreted as a prefiguration of Christ; the image of the former will sometimes include characteristics of the latter, and vice versa (Ohly 1985: 308–9).

The representation of the musical ecstasy of Orpheus also has analogies and counterparts in the depiction of the ecstasies of the saints: in particular, in the musical ecstasies of Cecilia and Magdalen, following a representational scheme established in the first decades of the 16th century with the famous altar painting by Raffael depicting the *Ecstasy of saint Cecilia with four saints*. One of the most common iconographic schemes of Cecilia's musical ecstasy — originating with Raffael around 1514 — shows the saint not in the act of playing but with her hands still, her ecstatic glance turned upwards to the heavens resounding with heavenly harmonies. Again, in the 17th century, it is not unusual to find depictions of David in the same pose, with his harp or psaltery abandoned on his knees and his face turned heavenward (Staiti 1988: 27). Here, as in the allegorical depictions of Orpheus, the music of mankind is stilled by the divine, so superior and so esoteric that often it is not even represented, if not by reflection through the rapt gaze of the privileged listeners. One can see that one of the two figures of Orpheus in d'Asaro's paintings is not playing his lyre; rather, he enjoys, with the animals and the shepherd, a music which is heard but not represented: as if, as Stanislaw Mossakowsky writes in connection with Raffaello's *Saint Cecilia* (Mossakowsky 1983: 60–1), after having reached, by means of his violin, the state of ecstasy which enables him to hear higher harmonies, Orpheus abandons his instrument, now superfluous, in order to enjoy a supernatural state of heavenly musical abandonment. This image conforms perfectly to the stereotype of the saints in ecstasy common in the Counter-Reformation: not God, but chosen man, he acts as an intermediary between heaven and man and becomes a filter, more pure than they, through whom they can hear and see that which is denied to mere mortals (Staiti 1989: 27 and 29–31).

4. Angels and shepherds, Apollo and Marsyas. Flutes as symbol of the paradise of the senses

Amongst the numerous 16th- and 17th-century representations of Apollo's triumph over Marsyas there is a particularly interesting example by Andrea Sacchi, painted for Cardinal Barberini around 1636 (*fig. 21*).²⁴ The famous castrato Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, depicted in front of an *arpicordo* with his right hand resting on the keyboard, is crowned by Apollo, who holds with his left hand a lyre, of which Pasqualini's instrument is the acknowledged heir. On the right Marsyas is tied to a tree, to underline his bond with that which is base, earthly, visceral. His face contracted in a brutal grimace, he prepares to pay the price for his defeat: shortly he will be flayed alive by the god of the spirit. Next to Marsyas lies his instrument: a bagpipe, composed of a little bag, two cylindrical pipes in a stock, and a mouthpiece. This instrument is very similar to a bagpipe which can still be found in a small area of the Adriatic coast and to the

²³ I have discussed this topic in greater detail in 1989: 135–9.

²⁴ Andrea Sacchi, *Marc'Antonio Pasqualini crowned*, Northamptonshire, Althorp House, E. Spencer Collection. For an iconographic analysis of this painting see Guidobaldi 1988.

toy bagpipes made and still used in Calabria and in Campania (Guizzi and Leydi 1985: 186–8): an instrument, therefore, probably painted from life, but amongst the most rustic and simple of contemporary bagpipes, and one of the most similar to the reed double pipes of ancient origins. The castrato, symbol of purity and of chastity, the highly artificial child of a sophisticated culture, is considered divine for his sex (or rather, by absence of his sex),²⁵ for his voice and his role, and he triumphs over the *uomo-capra*, inextricably bound to the earth and the senses. The iconographic stereotype of Apollo's triumph over Marsyas, and perhaps this painting in particular (beyond its specific function as a portrait), can be considered as a symbolic representation of the victory of the spirit over the body. Edgar Wind writes with regard to this: "The flaying itself — through which Marsyas was punished by Apollo for his daring and insolence — was a Dionysian rite, a tragic ordeal of purification by which the ugliness of the outward man was thrown off and the beauty of his inward self revealed" (1958: 211). In the two opposing figures of Apollo and Marsyas are identified the two opposing and irreconcilable natures of man, personifications of the intellectual and the visceral: "These two powers residing in our souls, by one of which we are raised to heaven while the other throws us unto hell".²⁶ Apollo, according to the myth narrating the famous contest, defeated Marsyas by resorting to a trick: he played his lyre up-side-down, and Marsyas, unable to make the pipes of the *aulos* vibrate by blowing through their lower ends, had to admit defeat. The victory of the god, who triumphed over the natural gifts of the silenus Marsyas with artfulness and by virtue of his reason, became thus the perfect symbol of a culture which placed the spiritual elevation of man as the highest of its values, the ideal frame of reference as a guide for the positive resolution of the conflict between *alto* and *basso*, culture and nature, reason and the senses.

The pastoral instrument, therefore, whether ancient or contemporary, is in effect, like the bagpipe of Marsyas, a symbolic reference to the "baseness of the body" (Bachtin 1979: 405–80) and the earth (see *fig. 22*). It is frequently used as a reference to an erotic paradise only superficially masked by more or less vague citations from classical mythology (see Ginzburg 1986: 133–57). Thus in an engraving of the 16th century (*fig. 22*) a panpipe roughly drawn and poorly understood by the engraver is the only synthetic reference, in a scene of copulation, to the world of nymphs and of satyrs, meant perhaps to redeem the highly erotic image with a fleeting reference to the courtly world of the paradise of the senses.

5. The Garden of Arcadia and sylvan instruments

The next category of sylvan and mythological images examined here are images of a lost mythological world in which the senses cohabit with reason and sustain each other reciprocally (see *figs. 23–6*). In this group classical tradition and images from the present are fused in the representation of a timeless and fairy-tale Golden Age; here, the concept of the pastoral is a preference for that which is natural, aspiring to the eternal Apollonian. The spectator, confronted with the painting, is not asked to disassociate himself from the satyr, to follow the path of Apollo, not that of Dionysus; rather, he identifies with the figures depicted in the painting, he is himself a

25 Stefani 1987: 103–4: he cites from Uberti's *Contrasto musico* (1630: 37): "Se nel primo loro stato intero sarebbono atti à riempire la terra [...] è ben verisimile che nel secondo stato diminuito possono essere più atti a riempire il Paradiso, conservando la virginità molto grata a Dio". And again, Stefani cites Inchofer (1635: 401): "[jeunuchs are] parem angelis, qui nec nubunt nec nubuntur".

26 Pico della Mirandola (1557), "De hominis dignitate" (ed. Garin: 122), cited in Wind 1958: 213.



22. Zoan Andrea, *Amanti* (early 16th century). – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 25, Commentary, n. 025)



23. Annibale Carracci, *Bacco e Sileno* (ca. 1599). London, National Gallery. – Photo: Author



24. Annibale Carracci, *Pan e Diana* (ca. 1597–1600). Roma, Palazzo Farnese. – Photo: Author

25. Annibale Carracci, *Polifemo e Galatea* (ca. 1597–1600). Roma, Palazzo Farnese. – Photo: Author



26. Jean Antoine Watteau, *Feste veneziane* (early 18th century), detail. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland. – Photo: Author

27. Carlo Biffi, *Ritratto dell'attore Francesco Gabrielli* (17th century), detail. – Photo: after Bartsch (vol. 41, n. 1)

shepherd of Arcadia. The shepherd of the painting (and with him the satyr) is no longer “irrational viscera”, the wild and uncouth *uomo-capra*, opposed to and oppressed by the god of the spirit; Dionysus and Apollo live together in the garden of Arcadia, where the senses and the intellect together recreate the perfect order of nature and the rotation of the seasons. The Muses reign over this paradise, this lost Golden Age; lovely divinities of wisdom, they maintain in perfect balance the equilibrium between high and low, viscera and mind, earth and heaven. In these representations there are very few traces of agrarian festivities and demoniacal masquerades; the shepherds are not “those sordid and vulgar persons who today look after the livestock, but those of ancient times when the most noble practised this art” (Doni 1635: 57). Like the satyrs, they do not have goat-like features and shaggy bodies in contorted bestial poses; they are fair, muscular and handsome. They carry panpipes or *tibiae* which are summarily drawn, certainly not copied from life, and for the most part inspired by Roman iconography of the Imperial age, the most aestheticizing of antecedents. In these paintings the updating of the musical instruments to accord with recognisable forms common in modern times involves almost exclusively instruments which in the 17th and 18th centuries were used in aristocratic circles: lutes, spinets and viols appear in the hands of the Muses or Apollo. Satyrs and other rustic figures generally continue to hold instruments directly borrowed from classical iconography and not modernized; they are clearly imaginary figures, deliberately divorced from the modern peasant and pastoral world. From the second half of the 17th century updated pastoral instruments do sometimes appear in sylvan images: these, however, undergo a process of social elevation and aesthetic improvement; the Arcadian shepherds play instruments from both classical and popular tradition which have been suitably embellished and ennobled. Thus *auloi* and bagpipes, in mythological and sylvan iconography, are no longer the bagpipes and double or triple flutes of the contemporary shepherd, but are replaced by recorders and transverse flutes of fine wood decorated with ferrules of ivory or silver, or bagpipes made from velvet complete with keys and bellows: elevated copies of contemporary pastoral instruments (see *figs.* 26–7). The pastoral drama and its iconography illustrate the growing popularity of the *musettes*, the *sordelline*, the oboes and the “pastoral” flutes of the 18th century.

6. Dionysiac processions: the tambourine as symbol of *mania coreutica*, amidst *menadismo* and *tarantismo*

On the other hand, in the bacchanals and the festivals of Flora depicted in numerous paintings from the end of the 16th century onwards (by Annibale Carracci, Massimo Stanzione, Pietro da Cortona, Giulio Carpioni, Sebastiano Ricci and Giambattista Tiepolo, amongst others; see *figs.* 28–30), direct reference to the popular world reemerges, less saccharine and less disguised, in the midst of stereotyped citations of iconographic forms and narrative schemes derived from antiquity. In Greek and Roman times images of Dionysiac cortèges and spring rites of renewal were inspired by contemporary events. That is to say, the games, plays and processional rituals celebrated on the occasion of the *Anthesteria* and other seasonal rites of rebirth,²⁷ of which the carnival processions and popular festivities of modern Europe in some way appear to be derived, were depicted as a synthesis and transformation into imaginary and idealised form. It is more

27 For festivities and Dionysiac cortèges in the Greek world, see Jeanmaire 1972: 34–54. For the iconography of the *Anthesteria*, see Berti and Gasparri 1989: 98–9.



28. Pietro Berrettini (detto Pietro da Cortona), *Trionfo di Bacco* (ca. 1626–1630), Castelfusano, Galleria di Villa Sacchetti. – Photo: after Briganti



29. Nicolas Moeyaert, *Trionfo di Bacco* (1624), The Hague, Mauritshuis. – Photo: Author



30. Giovanbattista Tiepolo, *Trionfo di Flora* (before 1755), detail. San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum. – Photo: Villa I Tatti

than likely, then, that contemporary iconographic tradition, by perpetuating a model that has been repeated since its origins in more or less unchanging form, would bring it up to date through a constant adaptation to popular contemporary ritual.²⁸ 16th-, 17th-, and 18th-century images of Dionysiac cortèges, of *Bacchus meeting Ariadne* and *The triumph of Flora* generally follow a fixed scheme, borrowed from Greek vase painting and transmitted through the bas-reliefs of Roman sarcophaghi of the Imperial age. The chariot carrying the god, generally drawn by wild animals (recalling the panthers traditionally associated with Dionysus), is surrounded by a crowd of satyrs and nymphs or maenads who dance and play musical instruments — for the most part tambourines, *cerchietti*, *auloi* and cymbals. A comparison of this iconography with the representation of processional and country rites (documented in the 17th and 18th century in genre painting and in the sketches and paintings of travellers),²⁹ demonstrates the relationship between an imaginary representation of the myth and its representation from life: as if the former, as has been said, was updated to accord with the latter, and the latter, for its part, while with the

28 For the relationship between the continuity of the iconographic tradition and its updating to accord with contemporary life (particularly with regard to musical subjects), see Guizzi 1988: 28–9, and Guizzi and Staiti 1989, 21–3 and 32–4.

29 See Seebass 1988: 76 and *this volume*, and Staiti 1991.

purpose of depicting accurately contemporary events, shows itself aware of the connections between that which takes place and that taken from ancient myth, and in the light of the myth interprets the actual event. Already in the 16th century, and from then on, in mythological representations of more noticeably Dionysiac character, the image of the shepherd who plays the bagpipe or the peasant who dances and plays the tambourine is superimposed on that of the satyr or the follower of Bacchus: the painters consciously "see" in the contemporary dance or rite the reincarnation of the pagan rite, and in the representation of the Dionysiac procession detect the timeless mythological matrix of the popular rite.

One of the instruments most frequently depicted in images of Dionysiac processions and rites of renewal is the tambourine. From the time of its first documentation in Babylonian iconography (ca. 1700 BC)³⁰ until today, in all the Mediterranean area, this instrument is connected with cults of female divinities and is for the most part played by women. Its circular form, closed and perfect in itself, symbolises the Sun and the Moon: opposite and complementary symbols, in popular cosmography, of life and death, day and night. Male sun and female moon are united and combined in this androgenous musical image of the universe.³¹ In the vase paintings of Greece and of Apulia, Campania and Sicily the tambourine, played by the maenads, is the archetypal instrument of divine *mania* par excellence (Guizzi and Staiti 1989). We read in the *Bacchae* of Euripides:

And I praise the holies of Crete,
the caves of the dancing Curetes,
there where Zeus was born,
where helmed in triple tier
around the primal drum
the Corybantes danced. They,
they were the first of all
whose swirling feet kept time
to the strict beat of the taut hide
and the squeal of the wailing flute [*aulos*]

Then from them to Rhea's hands
the holy drum was handed down;
but, stolen by the raving Satyrs,
fell at last to me and now
accompanies the dance
which every other year
celebrates your name:
"Dionysus!"

[*The Bacchae*, vv. 120–34]

In many parts of the world beliefs connected with these instruments present them as female symbols, sacred cavities, which are beaten ritually on the occasion of mystic rites. The sticks used for beating them are therefore phallic images, and are generally used by men alone (Sachs 1940: 21). When, as in the case of the Mediterranean tambourine, and the Italian tambourine in particular, the instrument is played mostly by women, it is played with bare hands alone.³² That, in Euripides, justifies the attribution of the instrument to Rea and to the Bacchae, while the *aulos*, a phallic instrument of predominantly male character, is played by the satyrs. The passage from Euripides explains how the use of tambourines by men is a symbolic demonstration restricted to certain rituals in which the roles of the sexes are reversed, as in those rites of seasonal renewal: "from them to Rhea's hands the holy drum was handed down; but, stolen by the raving satyrs, fell at last to me and now accompanies the dance which every other year celebrates your name";³³ as

30 For the Mesopotamian iconography of the tambourine, see Roberto Leydi's introduction to Guizzi and Staiti 1989.

31 See De Simone 1979: 15–6 and 182–3. See also, for the symbolism of the sun and the moon, and of androgenous representations of the universe, Bachofen 1989: 187–99.

32 Generally the left hand, which in folk tradition is the "female" hand. See De Simone 1979: 15–6, and Guizzi and Staiti 1989. See also Sachs 1940: 21.

33 Vv. 128–34. Regarding the relationship between Dionysiac cults and the cult of the Mother Goddess (and of cross-dressing and hermaphrodisiac ritual), Johann Jakob Bachofen writes (Bachofen 1989: 172–3): "In the mysteries of



31. Polsi (Reggio Calabria), players of *organetto* and tambourine at a feast of the Virgin Mary (September 1989). – Photo: Author

happens today in carnival cortèges, where the dance steps of men dressed as women are articulated by the rhythm of tambourines and castanets, played on that occasion by male performers alone.³⁴ Thus, instruments of corybantic revellers and of the therapeutic tarantella, from Babylonian bas-reliefs to festivities for the Madonna in Calabria (fig. 31), in Campania and in Apulia, the tambourine expresses the obsessive pulse beaten by he who, dancing, ritually beats the womb of the Earth Mother. In the iconographical treatise *Le immagini delli dei de gl'antichi*, first published by Vincenzo Cartari in 1556, the entry “La Gran Madre” reads:

Per gli timpani, che ella parimente ha, si intende la rotondità della terra partita in due mezze sfere, delle quali l'una è chiamata l'Hemispero superiore, et è quella che abitiamo noi; et l'altra inferiore ove sono gli Antipodi.³⁵

a god who is eminently male-phallic, material femininity predominates. The receptive principle is the highest point of nature [...] Everything is brought back to womankind. For this reason women play a primary role in the Bacchic cult. Thus, the priestly functions fitting for the masculine god is usually assigned to them; for this reason men wear feminine dress in Dionysiac festivities and the god himself is not unknown to assume a hermaphroditic role [...]. Thus, Dionysus never appears as a solitary and asexual figure, like Apollo, who reigns in a higher, luminous purity, but is always connected with feminine beings, on whom he is destined to act with his phallic nature, in particular with all the Great Mothers of nature: Demeter and Kore, Aphrodite and Hebe, Athena and Artemis, Ariadne-Aridela, Semele-Libera [...] and again the Charites, the Horae, the Nymphs, the Muses; and also the Bacchante, the Maenads, the *Tiadi*, *Lenee*, *Clodoni*, *Mimallone* and Amazons; they appear together in the female retinue of the god, profoundly affected in the most intimate nucleus of their psychic life by the vortex of an overwrought sexual voluptuousness, endued by the excitement of the feast or by war”.

34 See for example, with reference to carnival in Campania, Rossi and De Simone 1977: 92–4 and 209–24.

35 “The drums, that she likewise carries, signify the rotundity of the earth divided into two hemispheres, of which one is called the upper Hemisphere, and it is that which we inhabit; and the other the lower, where the Antipodies are”. Cartari 1647: 112.



32. Domenico Carella, *Trionfo di Bacco e Arianna* (late 18th century), detail. Martina Franca (Taranto), Palazzo Fighera. – Photo: after Gruppo Umanesimo della Pietra 1982

33. Domenico Carella, *Tironfo di Bacco e Arianna* (late 18th century), detail: “la baccante”. Martina Franca (Taranto), Palazzo Fighera. – Photo: after Gruppo Umanesimo della Pietra 1982

If the term *timpani* refers here to thus implying frame drums, it is also true that the analogy with the earth, “divided into two hemispheres”, suggests rather the kettledrums. But in the illustrated edition of Cartari’s work published in Venice in 1647, the Great Mother, seated on a throne drawn by lions, holds a tambourine in her hand. Nearby a corybant leaning on the trunk of a large vine, also holds a tambourine. From the vine hangs a third tambourine, bearing the image of a corybant holding a cornucopia full of fruit. Clearly the illustration deviates from the text under the influence of ancient iconography and of iconography connected with the tambourine, which is naturally associated with women, with female divinities and Bacchic rites.

Domenico Carella (1720–ca. 1813) has depicted in the frescoes of a palazzo nobiliare in the town of Martina Franca (Taranto) a scene of *The triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*³⁶ which is laid out following the traditional scheme of representations of Dionysiac cortèges (figs. 32–3). A chariot, on which are seated Bacchus and Ariadne, is drawn by two spotted beasts, surrounded by satyrs who play horns and carry staves decorated with fronds. The chariot is preceded by a woman in a white peplos and a red scarf, who dances and plays a tambourine held high above her head. Behind her, hanging from a tree, is another tambourine — smaller than that played by the dancer — and two tragic-comic masks. In the background, to the left of the dancer, there is a goat and two silens, one of whom is raising an ewer to his lips. This image, while remaining entirely faithful to the traditional iconography of the Dionysiac procession, nonetheless brings

36 Domenico Carella (1720–ca.1813), *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, Martina Franca (Taranto), Palazzo Fighera (now Giuliani). See Gruppo Umanesimo della Pietra 1982: 105–6, pl. XVII and XVIII, and Guizzi and Staiti 1989: 33–4.

to mind the ritual performance of the therapeutic tarantella still to be found today in the Salento area and whose diffusion in the past covered the whole of Apulia (the zone in which *tarantismo* was prevalent since its earliest manifestations), and of which traces are to be found in Campania, Basilicata, Calabria and in Sicily.³⁷ Those persons (for the most part women) who are afflicted by the poisonous bite of the tarantula become affected by manic-depressive crises which are controlled and worked out in the course of a therapy based on music and dance.³⁸ In this therapy an important role is played by certain colors, which identify the mythical poisonous spider, and certain objects, which are related to symbols of sexuality, oneirism, and death: swords, draperies, ropes, mirrors, vine leaves and vessels of water (De Martino 1976: 127–31). “During the therapy”, observes T. N. D’Aquino in 1771 (therefore, in the period in which Carella painted his fresco),

[...] vulgar people, both men and women, under the pretext of being *tarantate*, each summer do things which are more extravagant and bizarre than those that were once practised by the initiates of the Goddess Cybele, and by the raging Bacchantes.³⁹

The cure is completed at the chapel of San Paolo at Galatina (Lecce) with the ritual drinking of water from the well near the chapel, which is believed to have therapeutic properties (De Martino 1976: 105–24). With respect to the numerous literary sources documenting the history of this phenomenon since the 16th century, it is worth, again, to refer to De Martino who excerpts from *De phalangio apulo*, by Ludovico Valletta (1706). Valletta lists and describes the objects for a domestic therapy⁴⁰ for treating gentlewoman of Lucera, bitten by a tarantula seven years before her marriage and constrained to dance annually at the time of the first bite:

Nel corso delle sue danze la tarantata osserva sempre il seguente rito. Prima di danzare per dieci o quindici giorni giace a letto malata, angosciata, ansante, inappetente e cibandosi lentamente solo se costretta. Aggravandosi il male [...] son fatti venire i suonatori. Intanto nella camera da letto vengono da per tutto disposti cangianti drappi purpurei, e nel mezzo della camera un catino molto ampio colmo d’acqua, ornato di verdi fronde: alle pareti, all’intorno, vengono apprestati due specchi di notevoli dimensioni. I suonatori fanno riecheggiare il motivo che hanno riconosciuto come adatto a stimolarla alla danza: la donna avanza ora bellamente vestita da sposa, le chiome convenientemente acconciate e avviluppate da nastri multicolori, le dita, il petto, il collo, le orecchie, risplendenti di gemme e ori. Dapprima la donna passeggia gravemente per la stanza da letto, quindi poco a poco comincia a ballare, e nel ballo a tal punto si va infiammando da meravigliare per i movimenti immoderati, abnormi, vari e concitati che viene compiendo con i piedi, le mani, il capo, gli occhi, insomma con tutto il corpo, muovendosi in avanti, all’indietro, a destra, a sinistra, dal basso in alto e dall’alto in basso [...] Durante il ballo spesso corre a immergere nell’acqua del catino il capo e il volto, ardenti per troppo calore e grondanti sudore, e nell’acqua si va sciacquando impazientemente e piena di sdegno. Quindi, dopo essersi mirata nell’acqua a lungo, e dopo essersi compiaciuta dinanzi ad essa con quelle ridicole e insane gesticolazioni che già aveva eseguito dinanzi agli specchi, non ancora paga getta con furia la spada, e trascinandosi sulle ginocchia davanti ai suonatori, afferrata la magadis o arpa ad una corda ed appoggiandovisi con le mani al modo dei suonatori, più e più volte va battendo il suolo con le ginocchia e così protende il collo e velocemente rotea il capo, e con tanta estrema disperazione diffusa nel sembiante, che i presenti temono soffra di vertigini. Dopo essersi sbizzarrita con tale mimica, si leva in piedi, trascinata da furore, la mente sconvolta, gli occhi rossi, vagando di qua e di là, correndo in tondo, e talora — mirabile a dirsi — poggiando su un solo piede gira su se stessa qual turbine, finché per vertigine, indebolimento o vacillamento della vista da quel moto contrario alla natura dei corpi

37 See De Martino 1976, and Guidobaldi *this volume*, regarding *tarantismo* in the image of *Puglia* in Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*.

38 See De Martino 1976: 132–49, and the essay by Diego Carpitella in the same volume (335–72).

39 *Delle delizie tarantine* (1771: 444–5), cited in De Martino 1976.

40 Valletta 1706, 159–60. Cited in De Martino 1976: 102.

terrestri, finisce col precipitare al suolo a capofitto. Secondo il costume degli altri tarantati, il suo ballo dura tre giorni, e ogni giorno tre volte viene intermesso e tre volte riprende, sempre con la stessa vicenda di moti che abbiamo registrato: ma nell'ultimo giorno, dopo aver ballato nel modo che si è detto, sopraggiunta la sera, si immerge in profondo dolore, come se mille affanni le gravassero l'animo: per il che si mette a letto, il respiro rotto da continui singhiozzi, e versa lacrime lamentandosi [...].⁴¹

This description, along with others, shows clearly that the symbolic apparatus and carthartic function of the rites of *tarantismo* are related to the corybantic revels and Dionysiac *mania* of classical Greece, known in cultured circles during the 17th century from pictorial and literary sources.⁴² Numerous aspects of the *tarantismo* of Apulia, observes De Martino (1976: 199), find their counterpart in the religious life of that Greece of which Apulia, as a part of Magna Graecia, was a cultural province. The symbolic “bite”, the arboreal and aquatic settings of the rite, the swing, the mirror, sword and catharsis through music and dance “[...] are found in the Greek religious world in similar mythico-ritual structures, playing roles which recall those of *tarantismo*, and with respect to them are historical antecedents” (ibidem). Aeschylus’s *Prometheus Bound*, for example, makes clear the connection between the symbolic bite of an insect and hypnosis which is

41 “In the course of her dance the *tarantata* always observes the following rite. Before dancing she lies in bed for ten or fifteen days, ill, anxious, breathless, without appetite, eating slowly and only if she is obliged to do so. As her illness becomes worse [...] the players are called. In the meanwhile purple drapes are hung all about the bedroom, and in the middle of the room is placed a large basin full of water, decorated with green boughs: on the walls two mirrors of large dimensions are prepared. The players repeat the motive that they consider likely to stimulate her to dance: the woman enters, now finely dressed as a bride, her hair suitably dressed and bound with ribbons of many colours, her fingers, her breast, neck and ears shining with jewels and gold. At first the woman moves solemnly about the room, then she gradually begins to dance, and she becomes so impassioned in her dance as to cause wonder at the immoderate, abnormal and impetuous movements that she makes with her feet, her hands, her head, her eyes, in short with all her body; moving forwards, backwards, to the right, the left, from low to high and high to low [...] Often in the course of the dance she runs to dip her head and face into the water in the basin, since they are fiery from the heat and dripping with sweat, and she rinses herself in the water impatiently and scornfully. Then, after having looked at herself for some time, and after having admired herself before it with those ridiculous and insane gestures that she already had made before the mirror, not yet satisfied she angrily throws away the sword, and dragging herself on her knees before the players, she grasps the *magadis* or *arpa ad una corda* and resting her hands on it, in the manner of the players, she beats her knees on the ground many times and thus she stretches out her neck and rapidly rotates her head, and with such extreme desperation on her face, that those present fear she is suffering from giddiness. After she has had finished such mimicry, she gets to her feet; fraught with passion, her mind unhinged, her eyes red, she wanders here and there, running about, and then — amazing to say — poised on one foot alone she spins like a top, until by reason of giddiness, weakness or wavering of sight caused by that movement which is contrary to the nature of human beings, she ends by falling headlong to the ground. In accord with the custom of other *tarantati* her dance lasts for three days, and every day it is interrupted three times and taken up again three times, always with the same kind of movements that we have noted: but on the last day, after having danced in the manner described, when evening arrives she is plunged into deep sorrow, as if a thousand troubles oppress her spirit; so that she takes to her bed, her breath broken with continual gasps, and she weeps, lamenting [...]”. Valetta (1706): 159–60, cited in De Martino 1976: 102.

42 It is clear, for example, in a description of *tarantismo* in *De tarantulae anatome et morsu* (1741, p. 201), the work of a doctor of Lecce Nicola Caputo: “the bedroom chosen for the dance of the *tarantolati* is usually adorned with green branches decorated with numerous ribbons and silky scarves of gaudy colours. A similar drapery is placed all about the room; and sometimes they prepare a vat, or a kind of capacious cauldron, full of water, and decorated with vine shoots and green branches of tall trees; otherwise they make flow little springs of clear water, to relieve the spirit, and the *tarantate* dance near these, showing that they derive from these, as from the rest of the scenario, the greatest pleasure. They contemplate those drapes, those branches and those artificial streams, and they wet their hands and their heads at the spring; they also take from the vat bunches of wet vine shoots and cover their heads with them, or — when the vessel is large enough — they dip themselves in it, and thus more easily bear the fatigue of the dance. It often happens that those who dance in the towns and the villages accompanied by the usual music are taken to some orchard, where in the shade of a tree, near a pool or a stream (whether natural or artificial) they abandon themselves to the dance with the greatest delight [...]”. Cited in Italian by De Martino, 1976: 127. With reference to this, see Guizzi and Staiti 1989.

determined and guided by music: Io, transformed into a heifer and persecuted by a gadfly sent by Hera to prevent her uniting with Zeus, comes into the scene crying:

[...] Ah me!
Once more I am stung by the gadfly,
pursued by the wraith of dead Argus.
Save me, O Earth! Once more
in my terror I see him, the watcher;
he is there, and myriad eyes
are upon me. Shall earth never more conceal her buried dead?
He has come from the pit to pursue me,
he drives me wary and famished
over the long sea sands;
and ever his shrill scanned pipe,
waxen-jointed, is droning forth
a slumberous strain.
Alas!
To what land far-off have I wandered? [*Prometheus Bound*, vv. 565–80]

Amongst the numerous Greek and Roman iconographic sources which depict maenads in poses that recall that of the dancer of Carella, there is an image on the neck of an Attic krater (dated circa 390–380 BC, and originating from Spina),⁴³ which shows marked similarities to the fresco of the Apulian painter. Dionysus is seated in the center of the composition, holding a thyrsus with his left hand. On either side of him are two symmetrical couples of satyrs and maenads. On the left a satyr seated on an amphora plays an *aulos*; on the opposite side the second satyr dances while dragging a thyrsus. Nearer the center, on each side of Dionysus, the two maenads dance holding a large tambourine at head level, in a position which is very similar to that of the dancer in the fresco at Martina Franca. As in this latter, here too a maenad is dressed in a long robe, which she holds in her left hand, her head raised in a position of ecstasy. In Carella's painting, which reproduces with meticulous precision an ancient iconographic model, certain elements strongly recall the rites connected with the therapeutic tarantella of Apulia, which in this fresco implicitly refers back to the cultural apparatus of its classical precedent. The dancer's dress is white: it seems to be a nightdress or perhaps a sheet draped around her body. In Italian folk tradition the color white is the color of mourning, connected with initiary rites and symbols of death and renewal (see Rossi and De Simone 1977: 183–208): white is the color of Pulcinella's demoniac costume (traditionally made from a sheet), of baptismal, communion and bridal clothes, of the robes of the *fujenti* of the Madonna dell'Arco, of the costumes of the performers of the *Tarataà* of Casteltermini; finally, spotless nightdresses are worn by the *tarantate* of Apulia, who symbolically resolve — through the ritual dance — anxiety and frustrations which are connected with themes of sexuality and death. The bright color of the long red scarf that enfolds the body of Carella's *Baccante* can also be explained by the color symbolism of *tarantismo*. In the therapy of dance and music, the stimulating role of music — writes De Martino — “has its counterpart in that of color: while listening avidly to certain instruments, as if to absorb their rhythm and melodies, they fix their glance avidly on certain colours” (1976: 150), and: “we know from Kircher that the colours which acquired symbolic importance in the course of the rites of exorcism were traditionally related to the poisonous tarantula” (1976: 152):

43 Attic (?) red-figure volute krater, 390–380 BC, Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Spina (Ferrara), Valle Pega, tomb 136A. See Berti and Gasparri 1989: 63.

Tarantole diverse stimolano i tarantati verso colori diversi [...] di guisa che i morsicati da tarantole rosse inclinano al rosso, da tarantole verdi al verde, e così via [...].⁴⁴

Ethnographic investigations carried out in 1959 show that long ropes were hung up on the scene of the rite, from which were hung coloured drapes, so that the *tarantata* could choose and use that which she preferred. The dance cycle performed by the *tarantata* included the use of this coloured cloth, which she draped about herself — as with Carella's *Baccante* — or waved about in the air.⁴⁵ These connections between the image of the *baccante* and the representation of the *tarantata* might appear marginal, or be reduced to the single common denominator of classical iconography, in the absence of clear evidence confirming the direct relationship between Carella's painting and Apulian rites of *tarantismo* which is suggested here. One can, however, add certain considerations, which, while not conclusive, can give greater legitimacy to our theory. The dancer depicted by Carella holds her tambourine high above her head, in the position which is commonly used in depictions of Dionysiac scenes as stereotyped representations of musical ecstasy. This position is, however, also to be found in images which are directly depicted from life: for example, in 17th- and 18th-century images of Roman carnivals and popular festivities, as also in the numerous 19th-century prints and paintings that show the tambourine players at the feast of the Madonna dell'Arco at Pomigliano (Naples). In the painting *The return from the pilgrimage to the Madonna dell'Arco* by Léopold Robert⁴⁶ (as in the contemporary painting of the same subject by Paolo Fabris, see fig. 34),⁴⁷ the pilgrims' wagon, drawn by oxen and surrounded by dancers and instrumentalists, is in all ways similar to Dionysus' chariot in 17th- and 18th-century iconography. The image has notable counterparts in the festivity just as it is takes place today, and the tambourine, the castanets, the *triccheballacche* depicted in the paintings of Fabris and Robert are the instruments most used in the dances performed in the squares and along the pilgrim route; the pilgrimage, until a few years ago, still being made on wagons drawn by oxen. The image, therefore, is faithful to real life. Especially in the painting by Robert, the pictorial illustration of the scene confers on the image an ambiguous color of classicism revisited which has its immediate antecedents in 17th- and 18th-century compositions of *The chariot of Bacchus* and *The triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*. The tambourine player in the foreground of Robert's painting carries her instrument in a position which is very similar to that represented by Carella. Thus, in all probability, since the narrative structure of the imaginary scene — formalised and reinforced in a stereotyped model — also illuminates the depiction of a real object the concordances between that what is imaginary and that what is real seem relevant on both a formal and a symbolic plane. It should also be said that this way of holding the instrument is by no means entirely invented; it is, rather, an emphasised version of the real thing. In the course of performance the players accentuate the

44 Kircher 1650: II, 222, cited in De Martino 1976: 152 "Differing tarantulas stimulate the *tarantate* towards differing colours [...] so that those bitten by a red tarantula are attracted to red, by a green tarantula to green, and so on [...]."

45 See De Martino 1976: 64, 67, 69, 337–8.

46 1827, Paris, Louvre. See Seebass 1988: 76 and fig. 8. Another painting by Robert, depicting *Two Neapolitan girls returning from the festivity* (see Seebass 1988: 76 and fig. 7), has the same ambiguous flavour, oscillating between a faithful rendering from life and the citation of classicising stereotypes. The two girls carry leafy branches from which are hanging necklaces and sacred images; one of them carries a tambourine in her hand. The tambourine is the instrument traditionally played even today at the festivity for the Madonna dell'Arco. In fact, photographic documentation of the festivity does not differ greatly from Robert's interpretation: his Arcadian vein affects the atmosphere of the painting and his interpretation of reality rather than his depiction of the costumes, the objects, the instruments and the dance, which remain surprisingly true to life.

47 Paolo Fabris, *Festivities in honour of the Madonna dell'Arco* (19th century), Caserta, Palazzo Reale.



34. Paolo Fabris, *Festeggiamenti in onore della Madonna dell'Arco* (19th century). Caserta, Palazzo Reale. – Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali Architettonici Artistici e Storici per le Province di Caserta e Benevento

oscillating movement of the arm, and the tambourine, at the extreme end of this pendular oscillation, arrives at a position similar to that in the depictions — from life or imaginary — of ecstasy and possession, as the most adapt for representing the state of exaltation reached by those who play and listen. In the course of the therapy for *tarantismo* the tambourine accompanies the tune played by the violin with the continuous pulse of an obsessively beaten rhythm; the literary and pictorial sources document that it is constantly present, and is essential within the instrumental groups that administer the therapeutic tarantella. The players do not participate fully in the *mania* of the *tarantata*; their role in the rite is that of “[...] the mediators, stimulators, guides” (De Martino 1976: 68). The *tarantata*, for her part, does not play an instrument; her role is to absorb the sounds of the instruments and to perform her dance. Carella’s figure of the *baccante*, then, in citing the usages of *tarantismo*, combines in a single image a number of symbolic elements which are fundamental to the tarantella therapy. The *baccant-tarantata* plays the instrument most characteristic of the rite: that which beats out the obsessive rhythm of the dance, and which is, moreover, the only instrument in the small ensemble traditionally played by a woman. This image, furthermore, is a very effective synthesis of one of the high points of the dance cycle:

[...] nella fase in piedi, quando la tarantata — sempre saltellando a tempo — indugiava davanti o in mezzo ad essi [i suonatori], la tamburellista le faceva spesso esplodere proprio alle orecchie i colpi ritmici del tamburello, con un moto ad altalena delle due braccia che dava alla somministrazione sonora la parvenza di una irrorazione benefica o addirittura di una lustrazione.⁴⁸

The instrument depicted by Carella — of large dimensions, with two ribs on a somewhat narrow frame, and with openings without jingles — is very similar to that painted by the same artist, again held by a woman, in another fresco decorating the walls of a room entitled “Arcadia” in the ducal palace of Martina Franca (fig. 35).⁴⁹ The woman is one of a group of three strolling players in 18th-century dress in a rustic setting. One of them plays a recorder, the other carries a *colascione*. The woman holds the tambourine with both hands; like that of the *baccante*, her instrument is a large one, with two ribs on a narrow frame and without jingles. Attached to the only visible opening is a string, which in all probability encircles the diameter of the drum,⁵⁰ and to which are attached the bells, the first of which can be seen through the opening. A similar instrument can be seen in the hands of a satyr in another fresco, again attributed to Carella,⁵¹ in which the different position of the tambourine allows us to see almost entirely the placing of the bells. The presence of globular bells attached to the tambourine is documented in Italy from the end of the fifteenth century; certainly the images of the bells — in these paintings as in other iconographic sources — are taken directly from life and do not derive from traditional iconography of Greek origin (Guizzi and Staiti 1989: 25–6). The image of this kind of tambourine (held by satyrs and maenads in combination with recorder and *colascione*, as by the peasants and strolling players painted with contemporary clothing and modern instruments) are indications of a tangible continuity between the real world and the world of myth, and allow the painter to eternalise the real world — or a neutralised and improved version of it — on the walls of *palazzi nobiliari* of a wealthy and flourishing, though provincial, town in the kingdom of Naples. Thus the instrument, in relation to its depictions on Greek vase-painting, had to be brought up-to-date through a minutely detailed depiction, which included elements of regional character concerning typology and performing techniques. Similarly, the tambourine held by the *baccante*, has to be the same as that of the woman who is part of the musical ensemble painted by Carella in the Palazzo Ducale. In all probability it is one of those music groups which, according to the erudite Neapolitan Alessandro d’Alessandro, travelled the countryside of Salento playing the therapeutic tarantella.⁵²

An ensemble similar to that depicted by Carella can be found in a print which illustrates the travel diary of a German gentleman, Willem Skellinks, who visited Apulia in the years 1664 and 1665 (Skellinks 1983; fig. 36). In this image too the tambourine is played by a woman; two

48 “[...] in the phase on her feet, when the *tarantata* — constantly hopping in rhythm — hesitated in front or amongst them [the instrumentalists] the tambourine player often sounded violently close to her ears the rhythmic beats of the tambourine, with a swinging motion of her two arms which gave the performance the appearance of a beneficial lustration or even a purification.” De Martino 1976: 68–9.

49 Domenico Carella, *Strolling players* (1776), Martina Franca (Taranto), Palazzo Ducale, the room entitled “Arcady”. See Gruppo Umanesimo della Pietra 1982: 107, pl. XXIX.

50 This disposition of the bells, documented in the visual arts from the end of the 17th century until today, is still used in Sicily and in Calabria. See Guizzi and Staiti 1989: 25–6.

51 Domenico Carella (attr.), *Apotheosis of Bacchus and Ariadne*, Martina Franca (Taranto), Palazzo Marino-Motolese, De Vito Apartment. See Gruppo Umanesimo della Pietra 1982: 107, pl. XXIX.

52 *Genialium dierum libri sex* (1522: II, 212–3), cited by De Martino 1976: 133–4: “Mi ricordo come una volta, mentre percorrevo la squallida pianura di Puglia arsa dal sole, vidi da ogni parte per terre e casali suonatori di timpano, o di flauto, piu spesso di cornamusa, che giravano suonando: avendo chiesto la causa di ciò, ci fu risposto che con tale mezzo si curavano in queste terre i tarantati”.



35. Domenico Carella, *Suonatori ambulanti* (1776). Martina Franca (Taranto), Palazzo Ducale. – Photo: after Gruppo Umanesimo della Pietra 1982



36. Willem Skellinks, *Pizzica tarantata* (1664-5). – Photo: Sergio Todesco



37. *Ex-voto alla Madonna dell'Arco* (17th century). Pomigliano d'Arco (Naples), Santuario della Madonna dell'Arco. – Photo: Author

other musicians play a guitar and a violin, in accordance with what is, a few years later, described by the naturalist Paolo Boccone (1697):

Gli strumenti che accompagnano il ballo de' tarantolati sono la chitarra, il violino e il cembalo, con quelle campanelle di latta bianca o gialla, chiamato da' siciliani tamburello.⁵³

In the print, next to the players and resting on a table, there is a little harp⁵⁴ and a mirror: the latter is one of the traditional objects of the symbolic apparatus of the therapeutic tarantella (De Martino 1976: 129). At the center of the scene, set in a country courtyard, two women dance the tarantella facing each other. One carries a drape, while the other, with a flower in one hand, holds between her teeth a sword decorated with coloured ribbons: similar to the little sword carried by the child afflicted with *tarantismo* in an *ex-voto* for the Madonna dell'Arco dating from the 17th century (fig. 37).⁵⁵ The rustic performers of the therapeutic tarantella, in contemporary dress,

53 "The instruments which accompany the dance of the *tarantolati* are the guitar, the violin and the *cembalo*, with those bells of white or yellow tin, called by the Sicilians the *tamburello*" from Boccone's *Museo di fisica* (1697: 102), cited in De Martino 1976: 147.

54 Until quite recently this instrument was used by the strolling players of Viggiano (Potenza) that travelled all over the kingdom of Naples, performing at festivities and on ritual occasions (see the essay by Roberto Leydi in Leydi and Guizzi 1983a: 100–53). It is more than likely, even if undocumented, that the Viggiano players would perform for the therapeutic *tarantelle*. The excerpt from Valletta's *De phalangio apulo* cited above, in which the *tarantata* held a "magadis o arpa ad una corda", also comes to mind.

55 *Ex-voto* for the Madonna dell'Arco (17th century). Pomigliano d'Arco (Naples), the church of the Madonna dell'Arco, inv. n. 400. See Rak 1987: 67. A child dances the tarantella holding with the right hand a small sword decorated with red and blue ribbons. At his side is a mandore player. A woman kneeling (presumably his mother)



38. Paolo Monaldi, *La Canofiena* (half of 18th century). Milano, private collection. – Photo: Febo Guizzi

painted by Carella in the room called “Arcadia” of the Ducal Palace of Martina Franca, seem to have been directly lifted from the scene illustrated in this contemporary print. They have been placed on the walls of a *palazzo nobiliare*, in a sylvan scene, amongst nymphs and *puttini*, by reason of the clear relationship separating myth from contemporary life: by reason, that is, of an explicit desire to make this relationship clear. And in the same way, the depiction of the *baccante* who guides *The triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* painted at Palazzo Fighera, — rather than the abstract reevocation of the myth — has the purpose of intentionally mythicising the present. This seems unusual, if one considers that contemporary literature on *tarantismo* tends to approach the problem of the mythical spider bite and its therapy of music and dance from a medical and naturalistic point of view (De Martino 1976: 242–59), as if within the same cultural ambience there were two parallel and contradictory interpretations of the rite, the first rational and “enlightened”, the second mythical and imaginative. This latter, naturally, is not to be found

prays to the Madonna dell’Arco, Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Francis of Paola. Beside the young *tarantato* a rope hangs from the ceiling, it too decorated with red and blue ribbons. The presence of a rope is frequently noted in descriptions of *tarantismo*. Lodovico Valletta writes, for example (Valletta 1706: 76): “I myself saw not long ago a woman stricken [by poison], who [...] at the sound of the musical instruments abandoned herself to such an impetuous dance, and such an agitated shaking of her limbs and above all rotation of her head, that my head and my eyes, caught up in the same agitation, suffered from giddiness. This woman had hung a rope from the ceiling of her humble home, the end of which, almost hanging down to the pavement in the middle of the room, she held tenaciously between her hands: and launching herself onto it, she let hang the whole weight of her body, her feet hanging down, turning her head here and there, her face fiery, her eyes fierce [...] until enflamed by such strenuous excitement she ran gasping/avidly to the large vat full of water prepared at her request, and submerged her head completely [...]”. See Staiti 1991.

amongst the pages of scientific treatises; it can surface only in literary accounts which give rein to Arcadic lyricism, or through artistic expression, which, since it is not constrained to strictly naturalistic interpretations of life, can, through fantasy, show an historical awareness of this phenomenon which has been passed down through centuries of popular culture,⁵⁶ and which emerges in the symbolic narration — only apparently neutral and decorative — of the images.

7. *Carnevale utopizzato*

Thus, surprisingly, the numerous depictions (within the category of 16th- and 17th-century genre painting) of instrumentalists set in idyllic sylvan scenes in the company of shepherdesses who amuse themselves on swings suspended by ropes from the branches of trees (see *fig. 39*)⁵⁷ recalls, once again, the complex symbolic apparatus of the therapeutic tarantella. At the beginning of the 17th century Epifanio Ferdinando, and in the 18th, Giorgio Baglivi, both noted the presence of the swing in the therapy of *tarantismo*,⁵⁸ while Athanasius Kircher mentions that “certain *tarantati* swing from trees on ropes”.⁵⁹ The *Landscape with swing* (a common subject in genre painting of the time) is, like other images of the same kind, tinted with an illusory bucolic serenity, the more effective for being an apparently faithful but consciously abstract representation of the present (see Guizzi: *this volume*), this time not explicitly brought into a fairy-tale atmosphere through an obvious transposition into mythical surroundings.

Citations of the contemporary popular world in imaginary settings and tinted with classicism are not incompatible with the depiction of sylvan pastimes practiced by an aristocratic class perennially free from other concerns. In paintings which more explicitly refer to aristocratic pretences of pastoral activities, the same elements taken from life are very faint and ensweetened. The frescoes ceilings of the three rooms “Spring”, “Summer” and “Autumn” of the court of Caserta (in the heart of the kingdom of which Martina Franca was a cultural province), were painted in the second half of the 18th century, more or less in the same period in which the English garden was laid out in the park of the same royal residence.⁶⁰ On each of these ceilings

56 The rites and their description, orally or pictorially transmitted by the folk culture of southern Italy, demonstrate the continuation of Dionysiac practices which are only in part affected and modified by modernising elements or hybridization. Amongst others, the scenes painted in the inner part of certain Italian tambourines of today are closely related to images of corybants of the 5th and 4th century BC. Usually depicted on the instruments are women, or a man and woman, who dance in a setting characterised by the presence of branches and leaves, holding in their hands tendrils and vine shoots or thyrses decorated with plants. Even in the most recent and saccharine images reproduced in serigraphy or with transfers on the toy tambourines sold to tourists at Taormina or Amalfi, which have recently become the symbol of folk groups, one can trace connections with the ancient iconography of Dionysiac *mania*. Moreover, one can note that usually the costume of the personages depicted is not the traditional dress of peasants or shepherds, as is shown, for example, in the iconography of the *Adoration of shepherds* or of the *crèche*. Rather, it brings to mind the strange robes and headdresses of the anthropomorphic Sicilian whistles (see Uccello 1977), which might easily be descendants of votive or funereal statuettes of pre-Christian origins. See Staiti 1991.

57 cf. Guizzi *this volume*. Images of this type are common in genre painting of the 16th and 17th centuries: see, for example, the numerous paintings of *Landscape with swing* by Paolo Monaldi.

58 “Pensilem in cunam moveri cupiunt”, from Ferdinando’s *Centum historiae seu observationes* (1621: 255), cited in De Martino 1976: 129; or “motum pensilem amant”, from Baglivi’s *Dissertatio et anatome* (1754: 314), cited in De Martino 1976: 129.

59 In his *Magnes sive de arte magnetica*, 1743: 759, cited in De Martino 1976: 129.

60 In these frescoes the process of sublimation of reality is consistently carried out. It goes back to the Italian scenes painted by the Bamboccianti and their 18th-century followers. Giuliano Briganti writes, with reference to 17th-century genre painting (Briganti, Trezzani and Laureati 1983: 12–3): “the artists never completely opened that famous ‘open window’, but partly opened it from the interior of the palaces of the wealthy onto the road, choosing



39. Reggia di Caserta, ceiling of the “sala della Primavera”, allegorical figures with double-skin tambourine, *lituus* and *auloi* at the entrance of the garden of the royal palace. – Photo: Author

a garden is painted: the same garden (perhaps a utopian image of the garden of the court) in different seasons, viewed from different positions, now in flower, now decorated with sprigs and bundles of grain, now wreathed with vine-shoots and bunches of grapes (figs. 39–45). This garden is populated by allegorical personages and winged cupids, by gentle satyrs and pretty nymphs and by youthful rubicund figures of Bacchus. In the renowned representations of the first room, that of “Spring”, a triumphal concert of tambourines, military drums, curved *lituus* and *auloi* welcomes the visitor (figs. 39–40), in front of a gate, to the beginning of his travels in the “imaginary” garden: this hybrid and atemporal group of instruments so unrelated to each other contributes to the making of a legendary history of the royal family and of the ambiguous setting, between myth and reality, of the scenes depicted in the other panels. In these scenes cupids use the tools of peasants — lying on benches or balustrades of marble — as pretty toys, whose primary functions are negated or sublimated in a timeless dimension in which the fatigues of daily life in the country have no place. These imaginary personages playfully amuse themselves with sickles and hoes, and one of them uses a sieve of perforated leather as a means of disguising his voice and to frighten his companions. Tambourines of various shapes and dimensions are in evidence on the marble benches, hanging from work tools or held by some of the mythological personages that throng the scene. The statue of a satyr, seen from various angles in different panels, gives an element of unity to the whole, confirming the impression that every panel is a different view (in space and in time) of the same place in the different seasons.

with care the view, to show them, at a safe distance, only that which they wanted to see”. In the works of the Bamboccianti, poverty, degradation, and otherness of the lower classes was exorcised by “giving the ‘typical’ figure the task of embalming it in a concept of eternal permanency (consequently, without menace)”, and if one could give it a “cheerful and amusing aspect” (Briganti, Trezzani e Laureati 1983: 14), “the disdain and disgust of the upper classes for the plebian or the ‘rabble’ was suspended through laughter, through the condescension of laughter”.



40. Reggia di Caserta, ceiling of the “sala della Primavera”, cupids with sieve. – Photo: Author

The statue reproduces exactly the features of a satyr in flesh and blood which, in one of the panels, plays a panpipe, while in another he dallies with a nymph in front of his sculpted image, on a bench on which lies a bagpipe of a kind still used today in Campania (also seen, in another panel, held up and shown by three cupids): the garden and the objects relating to the present are eternalised in the painting, and transported in the timeless world of sylvan myth. The presence of the bagpipe and the tambourines near the satyr in flesh and blood has the function of transferring, with the garden, him who lingers in that happy world eternally in flower of this aristocratic myth. The king and his court could thus transform their lands into a garden of Arcadia, and their peasants into satyrs and nymphs or cupids who use the sifters and sickles as toys and the sprigs of grain as ornaments. Daily life is transformed into the image of an abstract and eternal utopia; the instruments of popular music, rather than ignored, despised or modified, are deprived of their potential to evoke that which is base, vulgar or different, and are restored to the splendour of the court as the vestiges of a golden past and symbols of present felicity.

We might imagine that the garden with the statue of the satyr did exist, perhaps in a corner of the king’s park, and that the young aristocrat depicted in a painting of the same court (*fig. 46*),⁶¹ in country dress and with a meticulously painted tamburine in hand,⁶² might have walked there, perhaps imagining himself as a satyr dallying with pretty nymphs.

61 Anonymous, *Portrait of a gentleman* (2nd half of 18th century), Caserta, Palazzo Reale. See Guizzi and Staiti 1989: 25–31 and 54.

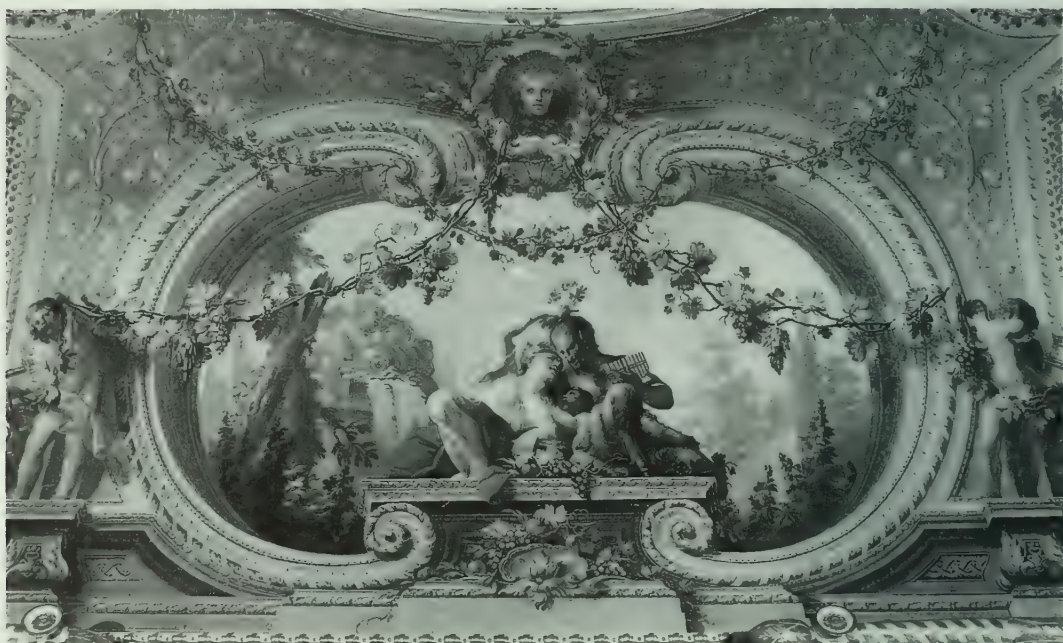
62 The hide is fixed directly to the frame, without ribs, as with the instruments made still today in Campania. A castanet and a bunch of brass pellet bells are fixed inside the frame. The custom of attaching a castanet — which sounds directly against the membrane — to the internal part of the frame, in direct contact with the hide, is even now documented in northern Calabria. In this zone, according to oral reports (testimonies collected by Pasquale Greco, whom I thank for the information), it is apparently also the custom (even if a very rare one) to substitute the jingles with crotales made from hard wood, which would produce a notably drier and more decisive sound. A young Bacchus depicted on the ceiling of the “Autumn” room of the Palazzo Reale of Caserta carries a tambourine that seems to have wooden crotales, in groups of three, instead of the usual jingles.



41. Reggia di Caserta, ceiling of the “sala dell’Estate”, cupids with castanets, triangle, gourd trumpet, tambourine, and other objects – Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali Architettonici Artistici e Storici per le Province di Caserta e Benevento



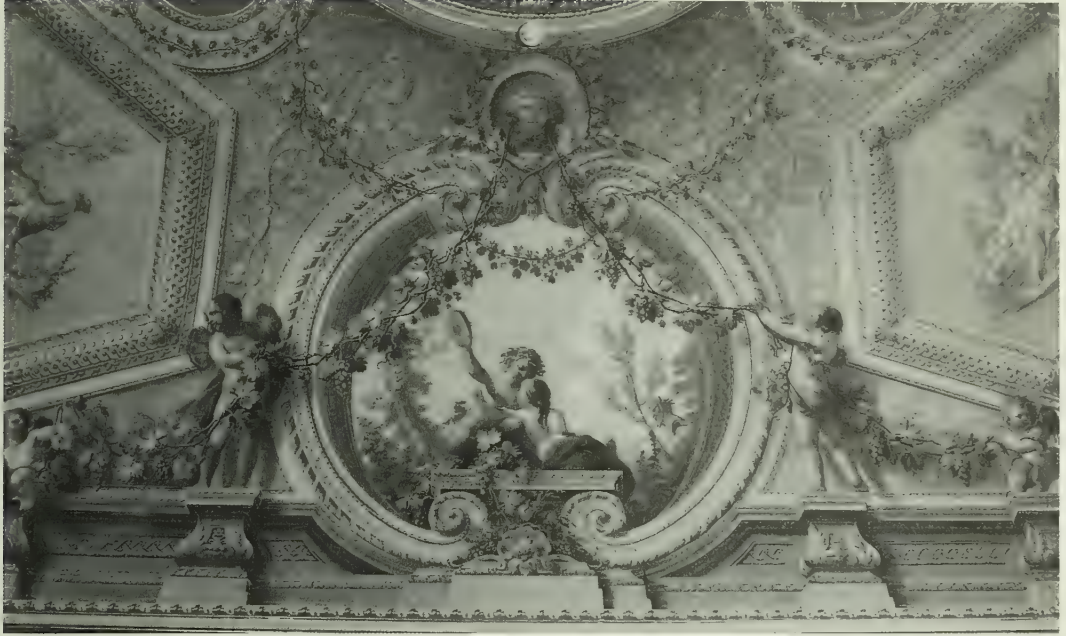
42. Reggia di Caserta, same location, cupids with tambourine and other objects. – Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali Architettonici Artistici e Storici per le Province di Caserta e Benevento



43. Reggia di Caserta, ceiling on the "sala dell'Autunno", nymph and satyr with panpipe. – Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali Architettonici Artistici e Storici per le Province di Caserta e Benevento



44. Reggia di Caserta, same location, nymph and satyr with bagpipe. – Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali Architettonici Artistici e Storici per le Province di Caserta e Benevento



45. Reggia di Caserta, same location, Young Bacchus with tambourine and Nymph. – Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali Architettonici Artistici e Storici per le Province di Caserta e Benevento



46. Anonymous, *Portrait of a gentleman* (2nd half of 18th century). Caserta, Palazzo Reale. – Photo: Author

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The sounds of *povertà contenta*: cityscape, landscape, soundscape, and musical portraiture in Italian genre painting of the 17th and 18th centuries*

Febo Guizzi

The aim of this essay is to investigate the vast pictorial production of a genre: the so-called *Bambocciate*,¹ in an effort to understand its fundamental characteristics from the point of view of the presence of music in these paintings, but also to analyze the great variety of approach to music in relation to everyday life that can be found within this genre, notwithstanding the uniformity that is usually attributed to this school (if not of style, at least with regard to treatment of subject and its method of presentation).²

1. The *Bamboccianti* in 17th century Rome

That which unmistakably and uniquely characterized the *Bamboccianti* (i.e., the painters who created the *Bambocciate* genre) — within the larger category of Italianized painters concerned above all with the landscape element of the “Italian scene” (see Briganti 1983: 3, 11 and 29–36) — was the central role played by the “human” landscape.

If we believe that “genre” in painting is defined not only by the recurrence of a subject (we might say, in a broader sense, of the enunciated), but also for its specific manner of presentation,

* Revised version of a paper presented at the Second International Meeting of the ICTM Study Group on Musical Iconography, Orta San Giulio, 24–9 May 1988.

1 With reference to the school of the *Bamboccianti*, the cultural climate of Europe and Italy which gave rise to this artistic movement, its fortunes and its vicissitudes, and on the origins of the term “Bamboccianti” itself, see the fundamental study by Giuliano Briganti (Briganti 1983), to which this article is heavily indebted: in general, for both art historical questions and the wider context of the cultural background, and in particular, for the formulation of certain ideas which I have used extensively, not only citing directly certain parts of the text, but paraphrasing more than one section. This article does not propose to offer even brief biographies of the numerous artists who are considered to belong to the school, nor would it be possible to discuss their respective careers, often varying greatly in both quality and artistic language. For information on these matters see the other essays in the volume (listed in the bibliography as Briganti 1983) containing Briganti’s essay. Here we consider painters as Pieter van Laer, Jan Miel, Michelangelo Cerquozzi, Michael Sweerts, Jan Both, Andries Both, Johannes Lingelbach, Willen Reuter, Thomas Wijck, Karel Dujardin, Sébastien Bourdon, Anton Goubau, Jacob van Staveren, Cornelius de Wael, Theodor Helmbreker, Peter van Bredael, Nicolaes Berchem and Pieter van Bloemen.

2 The documentation of those artistic repertoires which are regarded, rightly or wrongly, as “minor”, including those of the genre painters, has always presented notable difficulties, a fact which has to some extent affected this study. Critical appraisal and appreciation of these works has been relatively recent: moreover, the antiquarian market has always lived off the works of these repertoires, and has obviously increased its interest in them concomitantly with that of art historians and critics. This explains why a large part of this patrimony has not been permanently established and preserved in museums, but circulates with relative facility between private collections, auction houses and dealers. Their documentation is consequently affected, being often as incomplete and irregular as the availability of the works themselves; it not infrequently happens that a painting “disappears” without trace; at times its only documentation is to be found in catalogues of auction houses, with the quality of reproduction and questionable attribution that one can only expect from records which are not made for historical or critical study. This means that it is often impossible to obtain anything better in the way of photographs than a copy of an illustration which in the first place was not particularly legible.

and, in this, the realization of the “pictorial argument” (or of the enunciation),³ then what we wish to evaluate here is how the humanity populating the scenes depicted — consisting for the most part of well-defined types, recognizable for precise attributes or attitudes — is presented as the fundamental element of the specific argument of the genre.

I believe that no country other than Italy has known a phenomenon so significant and of such duration as that of its attraction for artists and travellers of foreign extraction, of varying origins and formation, but all involved in excursions within the “Italian scene”. This latter concept refers in part to objective elements and in part to an agglomeration of ideas, fantasies and illusions deriving from that same objectivity, involving a process of amplification, “tendentious” selection and the recomposition of a scenographic reality represented and staged within the theater of painting. There are a number of fundamental elements to be found in this interweaving of the “real” and the “fictitious”: the fascination of the classical past, manifested in disorderly layers of ancient ruins and mediaeval edifices, amidst columns, fountains, fragments of statues and ancient stones, inhabited with indifference by the descendents of those who had erected them in monumental edifices; then, luxuriant nature: the colours and warmth of the Mediterranean landscape; lastly, a crowd of characters drawn from the common people, whose poverty contrasts with the splendour of the ancient world and is at the same time indifferent to its decline. All this contributed to the formation of a highly “picturesque” scene, which, whether of historical or natural derivation, seemed to await only the artisan’s ability and capacity for unbiased observation of daily life characteristic of northern realism, in order to be taken up and thoroughly exploited in the establishing of a genre. This genre was distinguished, in relation to contemporary Baroque painting of the refined Roman school, by a kind of rhetoric of anti-rhetoric and, in comparison with Caravaggesche realism, by an approach which is at once overemphasizing and vulgarizing.

Foreign to it, in fact, is the intense transfiguration of the mannered art of the *trionfi barocchi*, but also the satirical and grotesque taste to be found in the moralizing prints produced in series or the wall decorations of this period. Rather, the establishment of this genre, which found in Rome its ideal scenario, was strongly conditioned by that separation and at the same time mixture of styles and manners of painting that distinguished the 17th century as the century of incipient modernity (Briganti 1983: 5).

One of the most characteristic manifestations of this school was the adoption of a long-distance viewpoint, a technique which distinguishes it from the Caravaggesche painters of the period. From the latter the *Bamboccianti* took a total involvement with the reality of life in terms of the visual, choosing however to reject its dimension of profound involvement with the emotional that was its predominant characteristic in terms of ethical approach. Thus, the same settings and the same human protagonists remain in these paintings, but are diminished by a wide-angle vision: man does not cease to be the cultural and spiritual centre of realism, but he is distanced almost as far as the eye of the painter is distanced from the viscera of reality. While the linguistic style of the *Caravaggisti* (in terms of their treatment of light and shadow, if not always their choice of subjects) can be said to be dramatic and at times tragic, that of the *Bamboccianti* is predominantly narrative.

With attitudes and end-products which are clearly very different, but with a general propensity for subjects taken from daily life, the *Bamboccianti* always have something to say about humanity, choosing their personages from among the “humble” folk; they depict them in a

3 On the concept of “enunciation” and its use in relation to painting, see AISS 1981, and in particular Calabrese 1981.



1. Johannes Lingelbach, *Market in Piazza del Popolo*. Minneapolis, Institute of Arts. – Photo: after Briganti 1983

moderate manner, and with discretion, always showing an interest for the more “permanent” features of the populace, and for the different forms of the lower urban classes, taken in their specific types and “staged” on the proscenium of an Italy, and a Rome in particular, that seemed to offer not only the physical space for their collocation, but the same narrative plot for their collective history (fig. 1). In the landscape painting of the *prospettici* and *quadraturisti*,⁴ the illusory representation of the depicted space is validated externally, by the viewer who establishes the perspective from his own subjective viewpoint; the landscape as painted by the *Bamboccianti*, on the other hand, is validated internally by the multiple subjectivities of the people depicted therein in a narrative context.

The same squares, the same buildings and the same country landscapes appear in a very different way in the *veduta* genre from that of the *Bambocciata*. In the former case they are immersed in silence; they dominate in their motionless majesty the insignificant human figures strategically placed for contrast and to indicate proportions, concentrating their compositional

4 About the schools of *prospettici* and *quadraturisti*, see Negri Arnoldi 1963.

force in the eye of the spectator by initiating a game of verification of the forms depicted through the spatial falsification of the subject depicted. The elements of the landscape, in fact, and even more those of architectural compositions, conform to the rules and the artifices of scenography, from which this school of painting derived its armament, taking to extreme lengths the capacity for illusory reconstruction of spatial distances in the actual absence of depth of the bi-dimensional surface: the *ego* and the *id* of observation are realized through the *hic* and *nunc* of the eye in an absolute and paradigmatic manner. In the case of the *Bambocciata*, on the other hand, movement, sound, and music in particular play a central role in the definition of the spatial scene: the “where” and “when” of observation are not fixed outside the painting, but are attracted within its confines, since the time and place of observation give way to that of representation, and the *ego* and *id* of the visual rapport are deflected from its active and noisy font of subjectivity within the painting. The central role of human presence, then, and in particular the movement and the sound produced by it, constitute the fundamental subjects of the pictorial argument. We should thus consider the dimension of movement and sound: that is, the temporal dimension.

It is commonly accepted that in the figural convention the fixed moment implies a measure of time, since it refers to the past and alludes to the future. That which is not stated (= represented) lives in virtue of the efficiency of the manner of stating (= of the representation); time can be fragmented and realized in its fractions which are simultaneously distributed over the surface of the painting: in this case it acts as the structure of a highly developed narration to the point of being totally reabsorbed in the space of representation. The sequence, even if not linear, of connected moments presented simultaneously resolves the problem of time in a “determined conventionality”, resolving it in the opposite of its naturality: that is to say, by abolishing the logical flow of the past–present–future in a conventionalized present which encompasses both the past and the future, so that the spectator has only to combine the figural sequence in a hypothesis of temporality. The representation thus determines explicitly the whole of that represented in the convention of the sequence–simultaneous presence.

On the other hand the fixing of the moment extirpated from its sequence leaves the observer with the responsibility of integrating the past and the future which are both absent from the space of representation: the dynamic element is exalted in its synthetic formulation, and the temporal support and the same narrative continuum are devolved to the observer’s “analytic” imagination, being therefore referred to the moment of observation.

Between these two poles there is a third hypothesis, in the case in which the scene is the result of a combination of multiple instantaneous moments, not connected between themselves inasmuch as they are not taken from a continuum following a logical linear sequence, but are concentrated in a unique space–time for a discursive coercion: even if every action is finite in itself with respect to the others, all of them serve redundancy to the saturation of the enunciated, in which they act as elements of a kaleidoscope: they are always the same, but by recombining they form images which are always new, for their turn recognizable as equivalent to each other, and thus as ordinal variations of the same fundamental images.⁵

It is thus that the narration in the *Bambocciate* is not usually configurable in terms of a “story” which proceeds according to a sequential development from a beginning to an end; it

5 On one of the pictorial prototypes of the encyclopedic composition within the space of a painting of a multitude of “objects” or situations belonging to the same type, and that is, Pieter Bruegel the Elder of the Flemish proverbs in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum of Berlin, and of the Children’s games of the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna, see: Schulz, Barbara 1981, cited by Calabrese (1985: 90–1) in the study dedicated to another work by Bruegel the Elder that presents an encyclopedic presentation: the Tower of Babel in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



2. Theodor Helmbreker, *Market scene*. Formerly in Rome, Bolella Collection. – Photo: after Briganti 1983

functions rather as a static plot in which are combined a thematic series, similar to an encyclopedic sample of the possible individual characterizations and of groups in which the people, as a collective subject, is segmented (*fig. 2*). Thus, the scene represented never really reflects a real scene, even if the single elements which make up the scene are certainly realistic to the greatest degree conceivable in the time of post-Caravaggesche culture. The whole combination of these elements, their mixture and repetition in constantly different groups, refers back to a significance which underlies that which is immediately apparent, and is derived from the abstract role of each of the protagonists. Thus, for this, in the remixing of repetitive elements, and in the combination of motives recognized according to significant functions, from the point of view of the structure it seems to act in a similar manner to its nearest model: that of the myth, or better still, of its more secularized and "normalized" version which is the fairytale. In support of this interpretation one can refer to that fundamental linguistic procedure of which, according to Claude Lévi-Strauss, the myth repeats the path: this means the "reduplication" which appears in every language as a principal part of the process of formation of the linguistic behaviour of infants. It is yet more strongly exploited in the formulation of onomatopoeics; the linguistic terms based on this procedure do not so much multiply quantitatively the function attributable to the syllabic cell reduplicated, as fixing an entirely new one, in which "Le second [membre] ne répète donc ni ne signifie le premier. Il est le signe que, comme lui, le premier [membre] était déjà un signe, et que leur paire se situe du côté du signifiant, non du signifié" (Lévi-Strauss 1964: 345). The emphasis in the proposition of elements belonging to a series is

not therefore a rhetorical artifice, but an explicit form of the structure of the discourse: it functions in the same way as does caricature, where “[...] l’exploitation emphatique d’une apparence sensible, [est] inspirée par le désir, non de reproduire le modèle, mais d’en signifier telle fonction ou tel aspect” (ibidem: 346).

Thus the same argument may be valid for the reduplication of figures drawn from the common people, their reciprocal collocation, and the scenes from which they are derived: these elements are part of the signifying, not the signified, with the intention of indicating a function, a relationship, a method of organizing the space depicted through the presence of humanity. Obviously, this holds true above all if we survey as systematically and completely as possible the *Bambocciate* as a “unified” repertoire. This is legitimate not only because it is exactly this kind of repetition which constitutes the basis of a genre, but also because a global vision of the repertoire, which implies the knowledge of a multitude of works with analogous subject, was by no means extraneous even to the experience of the contemporaries of that school: the artists (who made extensive use of copies taken from prints and fed on the circulation of stereotyped themes), seem in effect to have adhered to a “theory”, implicit but no less effective for that, of representation by functions, from which, it must be said, comes much of the charm of their work. The public, too, and the buyers in particular, must have had their global vision, since one cannot ignore the ingenious elaboration by the painters of what are virtually thematic “series”, destined for collectors: they might involve homogeneous subjects, in the sense of a pictorial catalogue of trades, costumes and so on, or a series of depictions of real places, presented in a variety of forms and animated by a variety of situations and human activities, to the extent of recomposing the same scene in different spaces, like mobile stage settings, without being concerned with its veracity. In other words, what counts is not so much *that* beggar with *that* particular instrument who entertains a group of passers-by under the column of *that* particular square in Rome, and so on (fig. 3); each of these elements is in reality interchangeable with the others, and in fact one finds them often in other connections, in other pictorial contexts. What does count rather is the relation each bears to the others, and the “distribution” of the roles, even in order of importance, that the spatial composition, the viewpoint and the organization of temporal and scenic parameters assign to each other in each “variant” of the theme treated.

For the school of the *Bamboccianti* this of course holds true only with regard to the “modal” plane of the narrative and compositional structure: that which is narrated, notwithstanding its fable-like charm, is undoubtedly composed of material taken from the most direct experience of the people of the 17th century. It brings together an extraordinary richness of detail drawn from contemporary historical and social situations, that even if partly established in an pictorial tradition derived from Annibale Carracci,⁶ to David Teniers the elder, to Jacques Callot,⁷ or even earlier, from Pieter Bruegel the elder, proves to have been directly inspired by emerging phenomena of the time: the great social crisis of the 17th century, with its inexorable

6 Above all with the drawings executed around 1590 for *Le arti di Bologna*, the which, engraved by Simon Guillain in 1646, were the origins of the numerous repertoires of “*mestieri di strada*” (street trades) which continued to be popular until the beginning of this century.

7 After Callot’s sojourn in Italy at the beginning of the 17th century he returned to his native town of Nancy, where between 1622 and 1623 he engraved the series of beggars that were copied by all the engravers of the following centuries, as well as by a host of painters, designers, ceramic makers, etc. As Briganti acutely observes (1983: 20), “But Callot’s grotesquery likewise has its studied, learned side. It is seen in the clear separation between the miserable world represented and the stylistic acumen, knowing irony, and indulgent intention to entertain lavished on the representation”; and in this he demonstrates his residual adherence to the fully *Cinquecentesco* artistic style of Pieter Bruegel. On Callot and music, see Gatti 1988.



3. Maestro dei Mestieri or young Lingelbach, *Street musician*. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica. – Photo: after Briganti 1983

disintegration of what remained of the feudal world and the consequent urbanization of subordinate classes without land, the result of wars, famine and pestilence; from this was born the modern proletariat and modern popular culture. The northern painters depict this world (the same, incidentally, as that represented in the Spanish picaresque novel) with their usual attention to the details of daily life found on the city streets where, as foreigners, they concentrated the whole of their Italian experience. It is not by chance that the rural world is almost totally absent from this vision. The countryside is occasionally evoked as a background for episodes of "transition", which are also those in which is told — or at least evoked by allusion — a "story": the "journey", and its relative halt (in this case, in a countryside inhabited by wayfarers, highway robbers, or innkeepers), the "hunt", the "shooting party" or the "country outing" (with their pauses for refreshment amongst country folk, enlivened by music), and with all these having as their protagonists the higher classes, or at least people coming from the city. The city, with its squares, its markets, taverns and courtyards, is the rightful place of performance, where buyers and sellers, strolling musicians and beggars, mountebanks and tumblers, tooth-pullers and ballad singers, artisans and carnival masqueraders gather; where the seething crowd or busy little groups go about their business. Even if poverty, with all its ugliness, is very obviously present, the whole (with a few exceptions, as in the beggars depicted by Michael Sweerts, who, according to Briganti (1983: 28), derives his serious representation from Georges de La Tour and Louis Le Nain) is very far from the drama and bitterness of the daily fight for existence: on the contrary, the general atmosphere is characterized by the hum of a feverish traffic above which rises serenely the omnipresent echo of music, or, in other cases, by the gay uproar of communal occasions, above all Carnival, in which music and dance dominate and are all-



4. Jan Miel, *Masquerade in a courtyard*. Vienna, Akademie der Bildenden Künste. – Photo: after Briganti 1983

encompassing (fig. 4). Clearly the cultural vision of the artists, on the one hand, and the expectations of the buyers, on the other, both contribute to the general end product. The former took care to place in the scene, as has been said, the relation between man and his settings as a comment on the distance between the past and the present, and on the “exotic” effect which results, it being therefore an essentially aesthetic effect, little involved with the ethical plane. And yet, faced with the fascination of a Rome which is stratified in a multitude of testimonies to the past, the crowd which moves there appears crushed amidst the little things of daily life; the weight of a History overflowing with Culture, which has been mythicized and exploited for its suggestive charm, reduces to a naturalistic vitality the poor subsistence culture of the commonfolk who care nothing for the vestiges of the past: this same seething vitality attracted the northern painters with a fascination which they reciprocated with sympathy and approval.

2. The function of music in the *Bambocciate*

In this portrait of humanity, musical activity seems particularly to have been used to advantage, its depiction allowing at the same time a standardization of types of the lower classes of the city of Rome and a manifestation of the sensibility, artless creativity and happy-go-lucky cleverness which, rightly or wrongly, were attributed to them. Both these effects are for the most part accomplished within a stereotyped compass, the limits of which they overcome in some cases only by virtue of a particular capacity for attention to the “truth” of the cultural and human condition depicted. The typification through music is in the first place an expedient and

superficial way of characterizing the popular element; in this it is not at all different from that with which Flemish painting had already amply experimented in the north. In fact the characterization does not always manage to focus on musical instruments which are undoubtedly recognizable as "Italian"; on the contrary, there is not infrequently a recurrence of models that are so extensively codified in the tradition of northern painting that they are much more probably taken from that tradition than drawn from direct observation of life. Perhaps only a statistical survey of the frequency with which the individual kinds of instruments appear in the paintings of the *Bamboccianti* might definitively clarify the real importance attributed to them for the observation of contemporary popular musical life in Italy; and yet, in the lack of other definite and exhaustive sources of information about the typological consistency of the folk instruments of the time, even an accurate calculation could not completely remove residual doubt about the documentary value, in the "ethno-organological" sense, of this school of painting. Certainly in some cases it is not difficult to recognize the provenance of some instruments from models of the figurative tradition, even to the point of being able to determine the sources from which certain images of players are derived. This is the case, for example, of the strolling player who carries a flat-bottomed, trilobed hurdy-gurdy which can be seen emerging from under his cloak. At times depicted in the company of a child who plays the triangle, the player of this instrument appears in numerous paintings, even in different contexts;⁸ while in all probability not very dissimilar to those strolling players whom one could meet in 17th century Rome, and with the same instruments, even if perhaps of a different type, the widespread presence of such figures in these paintings reflects not so much a concrete vision fixed in the street by a sketch from life, as the effect of the fame throughout all of Europe of the engraving of Jacques Callot, published in 1622 in the series of *Mendicanti*, and in turn deriving from earlier Flemish examples (fig. 5).

On the other hand one cannot deny the precision and fidelity to the popular life of Italy of the time in the depiction of certain other instruments, so decidedly recognizable in their specific morphological character and in their particular techniques of performance, as to leave no doubt that they derive from the direct experience of the artist who painted them. This is the case of the bagpipes with double chanter,⁹ typical of central and southern Italy, and of the tambourine (see here figs. 6–8)¹⁰ but also of colascioni, guitars and mandole.

8 As one can see, for example, in the paintings of Anton Goubau (Antwerp 1616 – in Rome between 1646 and 1648), *The market* of the Musée des Beaux Arts of Lille, or *The repose of the travellers* in the Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum of Braunschweig, or those of Carel Dujardin (1622–1678; in Italy after 1650), *The halt in a country tavern* in the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie of Kassel. In the *Repose of the shooting-party* in the Galleria d'Arte Antica in Rome, Goubau presents again the same personage, dressed and posed in the same manner, who this time plays a violin, while the child whom he accompanies sings, reading from a paper in his hand; for its part this couple, with the same attributes and attitudes, appears in a painting of analogous subject by J. Lingelbach to be found in an auction catalogue of Christie's of London.

9 Unique, with regard to this, is the case of the only Italian painter who was fully a "member" of the Roman Bamboccianti: Michelangelo Cerquozzi. Even if he demonstrates his nearness to the folk life of his country in many of his paintings with exemplary "ethnographic" accuracy, rendering with an abundance of details the whole of very credible situations, as in the case of *The peasant wedding* (Rome, private collection), he gives, when he paints bagpipes, a morphological type of the instrument, with a single chanter, separated from the drone, that, even if found in Italy at least from the 18th century, is relegated to the alpine territory and the northern Appenines, rather than depicting the typical bagpipe of central and southern Italy with a double chanter. About this, see Guizzi (1983: 98–9), referring to the *Peasant dance* (or *Landscape with figures*) in the d'Arcevia collection in Rome, painted in collaboration with Angeluccio. In the quoted *Peasant wedding* (fig. 5) the instrument, by the way well depicted, mounts two unequal and parallel drones leaning on the player's left shoulder, as it happens in well known bag-pipes from the Low Countries or central Europe.

10 For some examples relative to the tambourine, and for a discussion of recognizable techniques of performance in paintings, see Guizzi 1988 and Guizzi and Staiti 1989.



5. Michelangelo Cerquozzi, *Peasant wedding* (detail). Rome, private collection. – Photo: after Briganti 1983



6. Jan Miel, *Carnival in Piazza Colonna* (detail). Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum. – Photo: after Briganti 1983



7. Willem Reuter, *Dance in a courtyard*. Roma, Ludovisi Collection. – Photo: after Briganti 1983



8. Pieter Van Laer, *Tavern interior* (painted in Rome, ca. 1637–8). München, Alte Pinakothek. – Photo: after Briganti 1983



9. Andries Both, *Interior of a tavern*. Feltre, Museo Civico. – Photo: Author

Worthy of note is the frequency with which stringed instruments, and above all the guitar, appear. It is probable that two parallel factors contributed to bring about this predilection of the painters: on the one hand, a preconceived idea of the nature of folk music of the Italian region, with the plucked instrument as its “typical” attribute; on the other, the real abundance, if not the probable prevalence, in the urban context of the *Bamboccianti*, of instruments belonging to that sector of the populace which a little later would be dominated by the artisan classes, or in that other portion of the popular world that found in the city its place of formation, if not exclusive presence, namely the professionals of travelling music: the street-singers and the strolling players.

A close examination of the copious artistic output of this school of painting allows us to observe, besides the numerical recurrence of the individual instruments, certain characteristics of the figure of the popular musician in these works. Men and women, for example, are represented in more or less equal numbers; they are usually depicted in the open air, but sometimes in interiors (these latter are usually public places, and generally taverns or eating-places) (*fig. 9*); the music performed is always in relation to a “public”, since even when the player is alone or isolated, he is visibly in search of an audience, for whom he waits patiently. When it is not possible to make a clear definition between those who produce and those who “enjoy” the music, as in the case of exuberant carnival festivities, he who plays in any case performs so as to participate in the collective event and not to amuse himself alone. The musician is therefore always one who “communicates”, and not only from the point of view of his social and “professional” qualification: this is clearly to be seen in many paintings, in the spatial rapport established through the positioning of the personages, and their attitudes and

direction of glance that gravitate towards and converge on the performer; he is not only surrounded by those who pay attention to him, but his figure is often the fulcrum of the painting, or at least, of the portion of it given over to humanity.

All this forms part of the mentality of these painters, and reveals the idea that they had formed and done much to disseminate, of the relationship between music and the condition of mass poverty. It clearly also went some way to meet the expectations of the buyers, who for their part fostered a market of the "picturesque" in which the distressing vision of the privations suffered by the common folk would not disturb the conscience of the well-to-do, especially since poverty and suffering were universally regarded as natural facts of life and not as products of history. This double tension certainly contributed to the process of centralization of the presence of the motive of music, as providing a sure way of presenting a serene and painless image of the poor, whether taken from the more picturesque of the street trades, or depicted as a positive expression of light-heartedness and gaiety in the midst of poverty. In the former sense, then, music acts as an expression of "naturalness", living within the historical space of the city without conflict or effort; in this way it naturalizes the human space, acting as a means of giving value to the spirit of the people, and thus presenting itself as a privileged place of the suspension of inequalities and acceptance of the trials of daily life.

It is not by chance that in 1650 a work with the title *La povertà contenta descritta e dedicato a' ricchi non mai contenti*, was published by the Jesuit Daniello Bartoli (cited by Briganti 1983: 13) having, moreover, as its frontispiece an engraving by one of the most prolific of the Romanized *Bamboccianti*, Jan Miel. According to the author, the poor were content with their lot because they were able to inspire in the rich, who are never satisfied with what they have, an awareness of sin and feelings of pity for those who are less fortunate. Miel and with him the other painters of the genre were not directly responsible for the pedantic and hypocritical piety of Father Bartoli, but certainly they translated into painting a freer version of that ideology, depicting the world of the poor with apparent objectivity, but really with fidelity to an ambiguous programme of "serious" painting, in the sense of a rejection of the grotesque or satirical, and of a production in "series" designed for a uniform market and not for an individual customer; both of which encouraged an avoidance of excess *in* and *of* representation.

3. The music as a sign of folk culture in urban context

All this undoubtedly represents an innovation of notable importance. Certainly in mediaeval art the presence of music in urban areas, or beyond the walls of the city but in a countryside that constituted the extended territory of the city-state and that was in any case under the dominion of the urban palaces, had already functioned as the symbol of the "serenità della vita sociale" (Battisti 1978: 70), as is known and has more than once been indicated as being one of the essential elements of the allegorical image of *Buon Governo*.¹¹ But in 14th-century secular painting the symbolic significance of the music of the people (depicted in the specific Sienese example by women with tambourines dancing in the streets), particularly with reference to the theme of the glorification of civil power, was the precise expression of social harmony and thus

11 On this subject, and in particular the frescoes of the Palazzo Municipale of Siena by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Andrea di Bartolo, see the bibliography given by Battisti 1987, n. 2. Battisti refers also to the dance scene by Giotto in the Cappella degli Scrovegni at Padua in the predella below the personification of Justice.

“forse anche [del] benessere distribuito — in corretta proporzione — in varie classi sociali”.¹² And for this reason, although the ambience, both urban and rural, is depicted with great accuracy, so that one can distinguish the architectonic elements, trades and workshops, the mercantile and agricultural traffic, the cultivation of the fields recognizable by their methods of tilling — in short, a unified picture presented through a discerning and controlled *ars combinatoria* — it excludes from the scene, with an eloquent censorship imposed by patronage, the less noble and decorous activities, the uproar of the streets, the fatigues of toil: in a few words, the precarious life of the subordinate classes, and poverty.

It is altogether different, therefore, from the ideology of the 17th-century market, for which the depiction of poverty, or at least of the finest subdivisions of the lower classes in their characteristic types, is taken to the extremes of producing a codified repertory of those “arts and trades” to be found in real life without any particular kind of censorship; showing, rather, an essential indifference towards poverty of the commonfolk, if not even a possible or real serenity inherent in their condition. They play, dance, sing, listen, indulge in games and make merry, both collectively and by the interposition of individuals with the semblance of being professionals, as were surely the ballad-singers, the acrobats and the strolling players depicted in these paintings. In this, therefore, music appears as a fundamental element of a process which is not only of social identification: in fact, it is not through their instruments, dances or occasions involving the performance of music that these people can be identified as belonging to the subordinate classes, as is the case in mediaeval painting; they are already recognizably that through their being placed in crowded social situations, whether within the closed ambience of the city, or, occasionally, a portion of the rural world. Here we are dealing with a collective subject made up of socially determined groups, with a characterization which is taken to some depth to focus on the divisions of society which are freely reduplicated and recomposed in the course of the pictorial argument and its non-linear narration. The apparent diversity of the people present in this ambience is revealed as an internal discontinuity within a diffuse and almost universal social condition: the figures that act within its interior are rarely physically isolated, but in any case always form a homogeneous collective subject, divisible into groups, and defined by the circumstances of their presentation, by their “technical” attributes or their participation in events which take up all or part of the physical space represented: we are dealing, for example, with families, trades, the inhabitants of a circumscribed “place” (courtyards, taverns, squares, markets, city quarters, specific festivities), members of related couples (adult-child; teacher-pupil; dealer-client, master-servant, player-listener). It is certain that the quality of their presence, one might even say “their culture”, is not distinguished by the practice of values omitted from the representation (for example, religious devotion is completely absent), nor by activities which are dramatically related to their struggle for survival (even work, understood as toil, and not as a trade or a technical skill, is not part of that world), nor by the appearance of events marked by sentiment or by passion (one does not find pairs of lovers, nor particular manifestations of moral considerations, if we exclude some occasional scenes of charity extended to beggars), nor, lastly, participation in the events of History.¹³ The expression

12 Battisti 1978: 70. Very useful is the picture of secular urban music in Florence at the time of Boccaccio given in Brown 1977, containing some interesting observations on the social composition of the city and on musical culture in the various ranks and classes.

13 The Roman painter Michelangelo Cerquozzi is an exception, above all for a lively *Rebellion of Masaniello*, in which his propensity for painting crowded scenes of the populace lends itself magnificently to the presentation of a thousand episodes of the popular revolt. The *Sack of a village*, work of Cerquozzi of 1630, represents another

of essential harmony within the group is made up rather of idleness, of games, of the wine of the taverns, of the calendarial festivities, and thus above all of music: it is no longer the symbol of a higher serenity, guaranteed by its integration within a political system that harmonizes “vertically” the body of the city by virtue of *Buon Governo*, so much as the *lingua franca* of the entire plebeian class, in which is expressed “horizontally” the natural instinct for survival and its essential vitalistic unity, notwithstanding marginalization and poverty.

4. The Roman *paesisti* painters of the 18th century

Genre painting of “folk” subject continues beyond the 17th-century school of the Roman *Bamboccianti* and expands beyond the confines of Rome, which had been its principal centre for the whole of the 17th century. Music continues as before to be one of the principal forms of expression of the people represented in these paintings. But in the following century the cultural climate of the city of Rome seems to have changed profoundly: the “picturesque” element of the *Bamboccianti* enlarges, taking on Arcadian *mœurs* and the over-decorative style typical of the Rococo. A school established by Andrea Locatelli, followed by Paolo Anesi and above all by Paolo Monaldi,¹⁴ has been recognized by critics as the logical continuation of the experience of the northern “italianizing” painters and of the Roman painter Cerquozzi. In fact these 18th-century painters establish a style and pictorial language which overthrows the experience of the preceding century, eliminating the larger part of the particular characteristics of that period: this is a school of rural landscapes, idealized and distanced conceptually as well as geographically from the city scenes of popular Rome. It is curious to what extent otherwise perceptive art historians have ignored this change: in writing about Monaldi, the most prolific of these painters, Tognoli (1976: 13) maintains that “Il Monaldi ripeté stancamente i moduli dei bamboccianti”; while Busiri Vici (1984)¹⁵ gullibly and uncritically idealizes that which is most superficial and inherently false about Monaldi’s work:

[...] il Monaldi [...] percorrendo la Campagna fuori delle sue mura vagò, con gli albums di appunti e con i suoi colori, fra una osteria e l'altra, in quelle oasi di frescura sui Colli Albani serenamente sostando sotto le pergole di rustici casolari e bevendo il sincero bianco vino dei Castelli, tramandandoci la serena, semplice, onesta vita del mondo agreste e paesano del suo tempo. Più che un

subject which was introduced into the repertoire of the *Bamboccianti*, as Briganti points out, along with the themes of the storming of the estate, the skirmish, or the attack on a convoy or on a fortress, through the influence of the Low Countries and Holland, where war had been long present, in contrast to the situation at Rome.

- 14 Biographical information about these painters is relatively scarce, but it is strange that the historians who have studied them have not reflected on a fact which is certainly not documented, but which, even if only conjecture, is no less interesting for that: the surnames of the three (Locatelli – Anesi – Monaldi), who were certainly connected through friendship, collaboration and possibly also by a teacher/pupil relationship, can certainly be traced to a north Italian provenance and more specifically to Lombardy; an indication, perhaps, that it was a kind of “internal version” of the migration of Northerner painters towards the environs of Rome that had already had distinguished almost all the preceding history of genre painting of the “Roman school”.

- 15 A similar vision, in all truth, is not completely extraneous even to the more authoritative Giuliano Briganti, who in the frequently cited volume on the *Bamboccianti* (Briganti 1983: 35), ends with these words: “It can be said that the bambocciate genre held its own during almost three centuries. In the final reckoning surely one must count as bambocciate also the repetitive scenes of popular life on the hills or in Trastevere by Bartolomeo Pinelli, or the views of the city by his son Achille which to my mind are of more elevated style. ‘Genre’ means no more than fidelity to one single particular subject, and in that sense the bambocciate genre continued a good long while. It went through various cultural densities, and finally even adapted itself to the optimistic and affectedly sweet rustic vision of Arcadia that was Andrea Locatelli’s and Paolo Monaldi’s [...]”.

Pinelli avanti lettera (egli non è l'esaltatore dei "bulli" con il coltello in mano), il Monaldi si diletta di "fotografare" la gente semplice del contado che sapeva vivere nella tranquillità agreste di una campagna dalla quale a breve distanza si poteva intravedere, e comunque "sentire", Roma. Egli fu il cantore sincero dei contadini che passavano la vita all'aria aperta lavorando e concedendosi onesti riposi, e che trascorrevano le ore festive senza ambizioni sbagliate e senza quella smania cittadina della quale soffrono oggi i giovani campagnoli. Un Pieter Brueghel trasferito in una Roma settecentesca. (Busiri Vici 1984: 97)¹⁶

In fact one would think that these peasants knew nothing of work and that their principal activity was to make, or listen to, music. Immersed in the natural silence of open spaces they interrupt its density with dance and with sound, suspended in an ambience that would seem to obviate any moral observation regarding themselves and their culture (*fig. 10*).

The ingredients of this school of painting are always the same: a rural scene dominated by lush woods and crossed by rivers or roads, but without tillage, fences, or any other signs of work affecting the landscape. The *Bamboccianti* depicted ancient ruins as real parts of the Roman landscape; the *paesisti*, on the other hand, depict buildings such as ruins, or a group of imposing edifices, as part of a fantastic, unreal landscape, standing deserted, silhouetted against the horizon or looming in a menacing manner over people who rarely seem to be their inhabitants: a group or groups of peasants, wayfarers, soldiers, innkeepers, shepherds, and so on, often conveyed or accompanied by animals (*fig. 11*). When the scene is restricted to a smaller ambience, perhaps a detail taken from a larger context, and the personages are thus depicted within a setting which seems more properly theirs — as in the case of scenes set in country courtyards — those same buildings, which even if one would suppose them to be inhabited by the persons depicted, have the aspect of mossy recesses, of massive piles, half natural and half artificial, rather than the product of human endeavour. Their walls are often infested with creeping plants, their façades transformed by outsized pergolas; straw roofs and herbaceous excrescences seem almost to suggest that luxuriant nature prevails over even the most solid of edifices, and indeed has contributed more to their construction than any activity which might be attributed to those who populate the scene. All these people, in fact, are almost invariably busy playing, singing, dancing, if not drinking, engaged in games of *morra*, dice and blind man's bluff, indulging in ritual festivities or simply watching those who do all these things and yet more (*fig. 12*).

5. Music and human presence in the landscape

In these paintings music justifies the presence of man. The people, peasants and their women, need neither to act according to a practical purpose, nor to place themselves in an active, cause-and-effect relationship with things. They dance, play, sing, and thus "they exist". Their environment is at their disposal, without opposition or contradiction, presenting neither menace nor danger; there are no signs of cold, of storms or catastrophies such as fires, floods or cloudbursts;¹⁷ nor are illness, deformity and mendicancy to be found in these serene prospects.

16 The work by Busiri Vici remains in any case the basic reference for a study of the three painters of the Roman area, for whom it not only provides the most ample iconographic documentation, but also gives, with a detail permitted by a scarcity of historical sources, all the biographical and critical information relative to them. One rightly and inevitably refers to this work for all the general information on the artists and their works which cannot be given in this study.

17 Events, moreover, which constituted in this period yet other subjects for specialized genre painters, along with battles, shipwrecks, marine landscapes, monothematic still-life repertoires and so on.



10. Paolo Monaldi, *Landscape with figures*. Private collection. – Photo: after Busiri Vici 1984



11. Paolo Anesi (figures by Paolo Monaldi), *Landscape with figures*. Formerly in Rome, Villa Chigi, now in Milan, Alemagna Collection. – Photo: after Busiri Vici 1984



12. Paolo Monaldi, *Landscape with figures*. Private collection. – Photo: after Busiri Vici 1984



13. Paolo Anesi (figures by Paolo Monaldi), *Landscape with figures*. Formerly in Rome, Villa Chigi, now in Milan, Alemagna Collection. – Photo: after Busiri Vici 1984

But the surroundings do not seem particularly to belong to their inhabitants: those towers, arches, those vestiges of a mysterious past, those walls so distant that even a mill might seem a fortification, precede the presence of man at least as long as the age-old trees, and they allow man to move around them, at times even to inhabit them, but as guests in a world made for other ends. The fact of living on the earth without being in control of it is not the consequence of their social condition, perhaps of feudal status; it constitutes rather an existential and natural condition, the nearest possible one to that of an earthly paradise.

Rather than a biblical Eden, that which is expressed here is a kind of an Arcadian Golden Age brought up-to-date and placed beyond time, even if inhabited in an undefined past by those who left the landscape scattered with these austere and mute constructions. This mythical timelessness is not incompatible with the fact that the peasants are depicted in realistic pose and dress, nor that their music is performed with instruments which have a precise and plausible structure. Taken out of their context, in fact, the scenes of dance and festivity could be extracts from an ethnographic anthology — a little superficial, perhaps, but nonetheless credible and “instructive”. If it were not for this realistic characterization, they would appear to be purely conventional, as in the more or less contemporary vignettes executed by Zuccarelli. Here, in the Arcadian world of Locatelli, Anesi, and above all, Monaldi, these episodes have an ambiguous effect: on the one hand they fade into forms of primordial human activity, as befits innocent sylvan creatures; on the other, these same expressions of primeval culture play an essential role in liberating the observer from the necessity of deciphering the paintings through a key which is merely naturalistic, pre-Romantic or simply *vedutistica*. In this sense the landscapes of Paolo Anesi are significant. At times they serve as a background for figures painted by the “specialist” Monaldi, who’s figures are almost always shown performing music as their natural activity; even though they are dwarfed by the nature around them, they overwhelm nature by the anthropizing power of their music (fig. 13). When, on the other hand, the landscape is populated by figures painted by Anesi himself, these wander about without showing explicit signs of any particular activity: they are not working, but they are not doing anything which might be defined specifically as “non-work”; they serve only to complete the landscape, remaining flattened in the fixity of the enunciated, the “production” of which is based on a “bird’s eye view” revealing an enunciation of oneiric quality. The *mise en discours* of the painting excludes every narrative feature, and the painter imposes on the spectator a point of observation which is entirely unnatural; it is, however, functional to the proposal of concentrating his attention on an uninhabited scene, from which in any case no-one returns to the observer a glance or a humanizing gesture.

That which happens instead with the figures of Monaldi, if nothing else, can be read as an invitation to consider human time as an essential element of the scene: the involvement of these figures in the production of music bestows on them a specific temporal dimension, in that the time arrested in the depiction of the dance is distinct both from the suspension of time implied in the ruins and in the landscape in the background, and from the lack of any sense of time of those figures wandering in the landscape without any connection to a possible narrative frame. Typical of this is the case of the transference of a little group of figures painted by Monaldi into a landscape by Anesi: here the figures do not limit themselves to crossing a segment of the space, but allow themselves, in the course of their journey and in spite of it (and perhaps the fragment can be traced back to a wedding ritual), a dance accompanied by tambourine and *ciaramella* (fig. 14).

Thus music, for Locatelli (a little less for Anesi), and above all for Monaldi, is the only cultural factor which identifies man as his own master and in opposition to nature; however, he does not control nature, nor does he intend to master it through the effects of his toil.



14. Paolo Anesi (figures by Paolo Monaldi), *Landscape with figures* (detail). Formerly in Rome, Villa Chigi, now in Milan, Alemagna Collection. – Photo: after Busiri Vici 1984

Music manages by itself to give sense to and justify the presence of humanity, which does not acknowledge other elements equally significant in the affirmation of its subjectivity; in this way only, the peasant musicians of Monaldi give with their presence a faint but still legible narrativity to the painting's structure. Animated by the music, the personages, even if reduced to types which are re-used in repetitive situations, present themselves as subjects, and pose a “we”, with respect to whom the observer is the “you” who complies, listening, with the action of the painting. The “we” has a unified appearance scarcely diluted by different characterizations of groups and personages. The fact of their belonging to the country world does not seem in the first place to be determined by attributes, symbols or affirmations of a social kind, related to their condition: the same fact of being placed in an exclusively rural world reduces all the personages to a single Arcadian matrix; moreover the human dimension, restricted and rarified, composed of isolated figures or of little groups in any case never numerous enough to populate densely the surrounding world, is dispersed in the open ambience, a true naturalistic macrocosm. The differences react in a horizontal sense, even when one of the social realities which can be isolated in their “secondary” characterization ought to refer to a vertical hierarchy. Thus along with the peasants appear soldiers, shepherds, innkeepers, hunters, gentlemen (travelling, or visiting, but always immersed in the ideal continuum of the verdant world); the places in which they are scattered are necessarily generic, indistinguishable if not for small tracts of a very restricted topography which is natural or “ethnographic”: fields, woods, river banks, country courtyards. In some cases, Monaldi draws our attention to veracious descriptions of recognizable rituals (or plausible descriptions of unnamed festivities) that are danced to music or dramatized (*fig. 15*); even if our analytic attention is forced to notice these descriptions as sources of information about significant fragments of past



15. Paolo Monaldi, *Country scene with the saltarello*. Rome, private collection. – Photo: after Busiri Vici 1984

folkloric rituals, one cannot deny the functionality of these depictions in reinforcing the complex and continual operation of idealization in these paintings. It is not by chance, in fact, that the cultural elements which are explicitly stated (the garlands of flowers crowning or suspended over heads, the bagpipes, the oscillation of the *Canofiena*,¹⁸ and so on) constitute yet other devices of a mythical remixture in which the depiction of the actual historical condition of the populace is subordinated to the function of making explicit, by humanizing them, the magical energies dispersed in a universe that is seemingly perennially in flower (*fig. 16*). However, the presence of humanity is significant exclusively in its capacity for alluding to, if not abandoning itself to, a culture essentially based on music and play; anything else is a mere sugar-coated idyl.

6. The role of music in comparison of the 17th- and 18th-centuries genre painting

One can thus summarize and schematize the role of music, represented by dancers and instrumentalists, within the two differing kinds of genre painting of the 17th and 18th centuries, often unjustly lumped together in a sole “generic” classifying judgement, but rather dominated, from this point of view, by a truly oppositional structure:

18 It is a great ritual swing, which rhythmically oscillates with accompaniment of instrumental and vocal music.

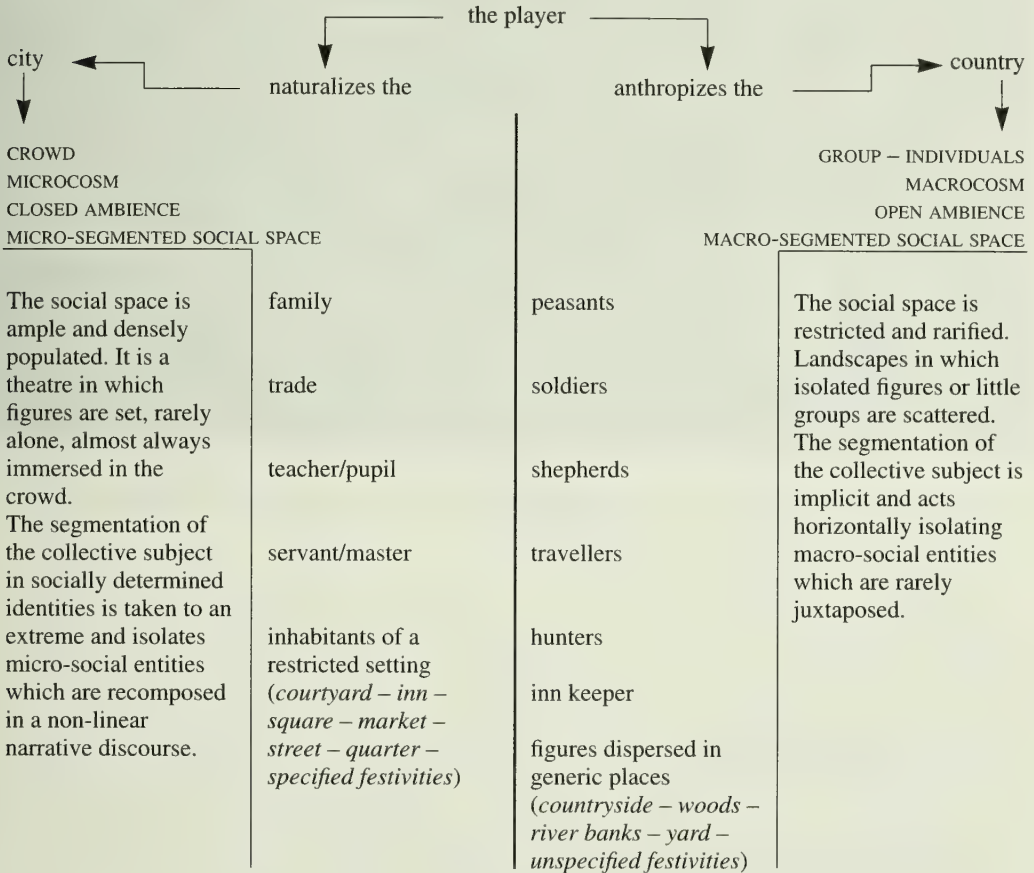
Diagram 1

STRUCTURAL SCHEMES RELATIVE TO MUSIC IN 17th (BAMBOCCianti)
AND 18th (MONALDI, etc.) CENTURY GENRE PAINTING

OPPOSITIONAL STRUCTURE

17th century
(BAMBOCCianti)

18th century
(LOCATELLI, ANESI, MONALDI)



Taking respectively the city, for the *Bamboccianti*, and the countryside, for Locatelli, Monaldi and so on, as the fundamental settings where human presence manifests itself, we can observe music in the role of “naturalizing” the city on the one hand, and “anthropizing” the country on the other. The city of the *Bamboccianti*, for its part, essentially means the presence of a crowd, and within the crowd, of a density of reduplication of the subjectivity depicted that produces the vision of a microcosm in a “closed” ambience. On the other hand, the countryside of the Roman *paesisti* painters of the 18th century is characterized by the absence of crowds, and its immobility is disturbed only by single individuals, or by little groups, that inevitably defer to the rarefaction of the human subjectivity; it is therefore diluted in the natural macrocosm of the open spaces, without confines, or at least placed in a physical space that towers over man, including within itself also the mute constructions of an alien and unhistorical past.



16. Paolo Monaldi, *Landscape with the Canofiena*. Formerly in Rome, Villa Chigi, now in Milan, Alemagna Collection. – Photo: after Busiri Vici 1984

7. Music as motive

In comparing the two artistic currents, a further examination can be proposed; that is the examination that takes on by analyzing the music as a “motive” of the figural work; for motive, I mean a minimal unity, obviously rendered in figural terms,¹⁹ characterised by the stability of significance. In fact, considering the omnipresence of the depiction of music in these repertoires, one could attempt to understand the functions of music as source of significance. They can be considered both in the lexical sense, and in the syntactical sense; in the first sense the motive is assumed as an element of the pictorial text which acts by virtue of its ability to evoke precise representable realities; in the second sense the motive acts on the organization of the figural elements placed on the painted surface according to a strategy based on their relationship and on their organization itself.

In the light of that which has been said it should not be difficult to evaluate these functions reading Diagram 2.

In short, the argument can be thus summarized: in relation to the elements of the ambience, on the one hand, and to the social elements, on the other, music is able to determine their

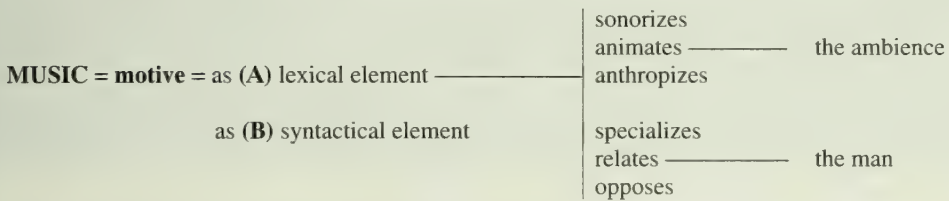
19 On the concept of motive in figurative art and its use as a semiological key, see Calabrese (1985: 167–95), “Uno sguardo sul ponte”.

semantic quality, relating things and personages, physical space and human space, in such a way as to attribute to each of the elements that make them up a precise connotation: in fact, as an "acoustic" datum, it fills and characterizes the ambience; as a "technical-behavioural" datum, it qualifies and vivifies man who participates in it. So the presence (or absence) of music in the scene acts in such a way as to transform the sense of each of the objective and subjective elements that make up the painting, up to reversing its meaning.

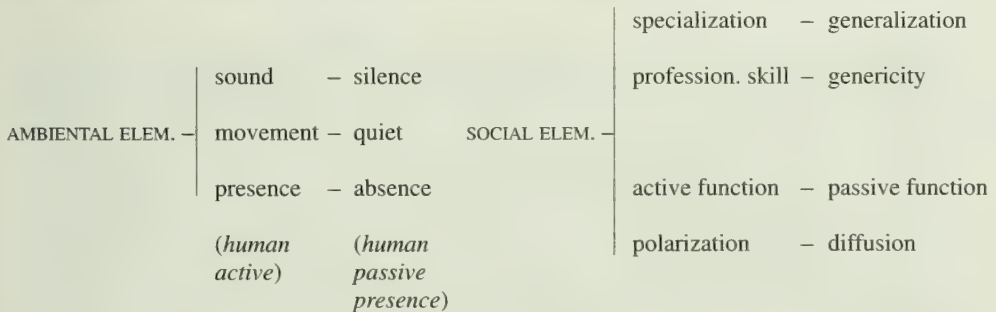
At the same time, from the point of view of the pictorial composition, the introduction of the musical motive often can impose on the organization of the painting a different faculty to proposing its own content, inducing the observer to favour a centre corresponding to the point of irradiance of the music, or suggesting an attention to the "internal time" of the picture, as a suspension of the historical flow of time, or as an absence of the exceptional event.

Diagram 2

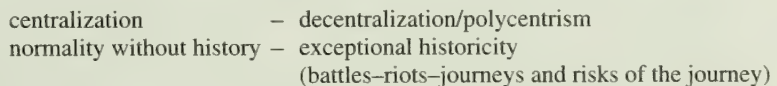
FUNCTIONS OF THE MUSIC AS A MOTIVE



(A) = the music acts as a transformative operator between semantically conflictual elements



(B) = the music acts as breaking site between syntactically determinate portions of the painting



8. The "portrait of the musician" in genre painting

In both the paintings of the 17th-century *Bamboccianti* and in those of Locatelli, Monaldi and Anesi, the framing is always limited to a long shot. The figures, however essential they are for establishing a potential narration, are distanced from the point of observation of the spectator, who puts together the whole of the movements placed in a wide and dilated space. In

the same way, the “hearing” of the music depicted in the paintings is effected through a listening from afar to a togetherness of sounds and noises combined and dispersed in the profundity of the widened space. The focus is not on the individual, nor is the framing restricted to the subject alone and in *primo piano*; a direct vision of the human figure does not dominate the space in a direct and exclusive manner. Such a direct vision is, however, to be found in painting of popular subject matter that became widespread in northern Italy in the 18th century, sometimes given the ugly name of *Pitoccate*.

It is not that in this area a local application of the model of the *Bamboccianti* is lacking, since their influence spreads out from Rome to some extent in all directions; on the contrary, one can affirm that the true continuation of the scenario of city streets and squares, and villages populated by a seething multitude, which in Rome appears to be abandoned in favour of the rural visions of a Monaldi, is to be found in the 18th century in other centers, as for example in Naples, or, in Turin, in the works of Pietro Domenico Olivero and Giovanni Michele Graneri (figs. 17–8).

It is in Lombardy, however, that the portrait tradition of Moroni, Fra' Galgario, of Ceresa, even of Baschenis, gave rise in the 17th and 18th centuries to a specific version of that indigenous humanistic tradition that found its most marked figural expression in realism, dating from the 14th-century frescoes and the miniatures of the *Tacuinum sanitatis*. Within this current is established for the first time (its only precedent being the extraordinary case of Eberhard Klein, “Monsù Bernardo”) the convention of the portrait of the folk musician: the work above all of the *maestro* of the *Pitoccate*, Giacomo Ceruti, active in Lombardy in the years preceding 1736, and rightly appreciated today as a painter of great worth for the profound ethical content in his favourite popular subjects (fig. 19). Less vibrant but no less focused on the centrality of man, is the work of Antonio Cifrondi (fig. 20), and, above all, of Giacomo Francesco Cipper, known as “il Todeschini” (fig. 21), the former active at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries, and the latter in the first half of the 18th century, and both, perhaps, from the province of Bergamo. A different current, coming from the vast reservoir of Caravaggesche followers, is traceable in painters as Bernardo Strozzi (from Genoa) or Pietro Paolini (from Lucca), whose frequent portraits of musicians include also the specific genre of folk musician's portrait: but here the predilection for small musical groups with women, and characters dressed in different and strangely mixed manners; the taste for the play of perspective on musical instruments, a major theme in still-life painting, here extended to instruments in the living hands of players (fig. 22) — all these and other distinctive features refer prevalingly to a derivation from the symbolical and allegorical tradition of Renaissance painting, where the musical elements are used as arguments for a discourse addressed towards a “hidden” meaning: so this current is a sort of residual tradition, emptied and reduced to a pseudo-realistic result, from which the human centrality is absent even if not missing, and the presence of the music is subordinated in favour of stereotypical symbolisms.

When, on the contrary, the portrait of the musician really speaks of him and his skill, in the close relationship between the observer and portrayed, music no longer has the mere value of a sign, a generic factor of a human imprint organizing the historical or natural settings: here music is above all present as a specific form of activity, of a trade, of technical knowledge and culture. Only then can it return to the role of being one of the main forms of typification that we have already considered.

The portrait, not so much for its content, which is characterized by precise individual features, as for the figural convention of the “close up” and the posture of the protagonist (when it is favoured in the frontal position, as opposed to the early Renaissance preference for the



17. Pietro Domenico Olivero, *Street musicians*. Turin, Museo Civico – Photo: Museum



18. Giovanni Michele Graneri, *Bagpipe player*. Turin, private collection – Photo: Author



19. Giacomo Ceruti, *The musician and his family*. Brescia, private collection. – Photo: Author



20. Antonio Cifrondi, *The piffero player and his wife*. Unknown location. – Photo: Author



21. Giacomo Francesco Cipper "il Todeschini", *Panpipe player*. Bergamo, private collection. – Photo: after Tognoli 1976



22. Bernardo Strozzi, *Three musicians*. Tallinn, Art Museum. – Photo: Museum



23. Giacomo Francesco Cipper "il Todeschini", *A girl playing Jew's harp*. Unknown location. – Photo: Author

24. Probably Giacomo Ceruti (but formerly attributed to G. F. Cipper), *Portrait of a flute player*. Treviso, Museo Civico. – Photo: after Tognoli 1976

profile), engages the observer in a direct manner. The direct gaze, or at least directed out beyond the "invisible wall" of the painting, asks to be met in order to act as the fulcrum of the "active" observation; it is a kind of question which asks for an answer, or, at least, attention (*fig. 23*). The portrait of a person who plays is, on one hand, a circle of redundancy, where the act of making music returns to the person portrayed after being projected onto the observer. On the other hand, the portrait of a person in the act of playing is also a projection of "sound" onto the observer, who is thus required to place himself in the role of the listener; if, therefore, the glance towards the picture contributes to the production of the effect of the painting itself, when the face of the portrayed is turned directly towards the observer, it presupposes that the regard of the spectator is also engaged in his role of "listener": this holds true therefore in a specific manner for the receptivity of the spectator, who is engaged in a request for "acknowledging" listening on the part of the personage. In other words the kind of portrait painting that constitutes a genre through its depiction of the figures of folk musicians brought to the immediate and individuating attention of the observer, derives from a kind of reinforced realism. Contrary to that which happens with pictorial production in which music has an allegorical role, or functions as a means to reveal symbolic significances (numerological, cosmological, mythological, moralizing, religious, etc.), or, again, is charged with theoretical or technical meanings, the portrait of the musician in genre painting deliberately chooses not to go beyond the depiction of that which the objects and the attitudes of the musician himself are able to tell us about his ability. It can often limit itself to offering nothing more than that which the most banal convention has "fixed" as a stereotype of the beggar who plays, and as a rule cannot even attempt the task of suggesting or offering biographical information (as does every self-respecting portrait, inasmuch as the

portrayed has a name and a history); and it is easy to document how far-reaching are the origins of that convention, the earliest traces being evident in Flemish painting of the 15th century. This does not deny, however, that the end desired and effected is exactly that of the depiction of an individual musician, of low social status and without a name, but not without ability, from whose presence, from whose all-absorbing "reality" the observer cannot remove himself. The fundamental elements of this operation are to be found essentially in the dialectic relationship of the perception, through which the receiver perceives the musical elements as symbols of nothing else but themselves: here, truly, the music does not aim to speak of anything else, not even of that which from other sources might be construed as biographical fact regarding the musician himself. As we already said, this does not mean that the musical elements in the picture were perceived unconventionally with regard to the symbolical power of the music: on the contrary, they rest on the cultural prejudices and conventions about folk music and folk musicians that we can suppose were spread amongst the patrons and buyers of these paintings; as we well know they are still present in our times: the music is thought to be "simple", "trashy", "touching", "primitive", "spontaneous", "natural", etc.; the musician "poor", "naïve", "rough", "knavish", etc. In other words, with these paintings we have not only a rich amount of information about the protagonists of folk music in the past, but above all a precious opportunity to investigate the ideas and feelings of the upper classes about the music of the people and the subjects of such music.

This does not prevent the perception from being engaged in a sort of "recognition of the other". The effort of reception of the "sonorous" communication transformed into an image is restricted to that sphere of intersubjective involvement between the observer and the portrayed; thus the music that is released from the instrument held by the "I" (= subject protagonist) of the painting is not realized either for him or for "you" who observe the "sound-bearing" portrait. Both are the subjects of an enunciation of this type: I watch you as I play and I offer myself for your attention in my moment of affirmation as a musician: for you, I am a musician, and I belong to the common people; you watch me play and recognize me, through my features, my dress and my instrument, for all the characteristics that *make up* the "genre", as a folk musician. You perceive thus the "generic", which refers to my condition even in the lack of a personal identity (in the sense of a name), but you hear my music and observe my face as distinguishing elements, as specific manifestations of a "to-be-for-the-music", claimed by my subjective provocation in the form of a frontal observer-observed confrontation (*fig. 24*). The glance directed towards the observer is the durable effect of the temporary rapport between the painter and his subject (independently of the fact that the painting has been executed within a real relationship between two persons, behind and in front of the easel); the point of view of the observer is that from which the painter has observed and "heard" the subject of the "folk musician", and from which he in the first place has made a "subject" (in ethical-philosophical terms, we might say) of him who by definition of the dominating culture is deprived of identity and biography. Within the limits of an individualization which restricts itself to the "genre" (but Ceruti goes far beyond the limits of the picturesque desired by the market), the painter acts in the place of society, but in reality he is delegated by it in virtue of his relationship with the market or clientele, on the one hand, and on the other, by his own specific capacities for rendering the emotional through this vision, in conferring biographical relevance on the anonymous possessor of a presumably anonymous musical art. And the observer of the painting is "delegated" by the same relationship of reception-interpretation to be placed in the position of the painter, and to undertake the same journey within the knowledge and recognition of the musician depicted.



25. Giacomo Ceruti, *Country dance* (detail). Private collection. – Photo: Author

The eventual enlargement of the visual field from the face or bust of the subject to take in the surrounding ambience, inhabited by other individuals, and furnished with non-musical objects, can disengage the glance of the observer from that of the protagonist who regards him, to then return to him enriched by contextual information, or to be lost amidst the anecdotes told by the scene. This latter effect is produced at times in the paintings of Cipper, when music is deliberately made the accessory of situations dominated by other motives; but when music is sufficiently central to impose itself as the dominating feature, as in the painting of a country dance by Ceruti (*fig. 25*), the portrait finds its discursive force even in the presence of decentralizing episodes.

This remains the most profound approach, at least in terms of an objective result, to unwritten music and its protagonists before the advent of photography and recorded sound.

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Idyllic Arcadia and Italian musical reality: experiences of German writers and artists (1770–1835)*

Tilman Seebass

1. Introduction

Artistic contacts between Northern Europe and Italy have a long history. One of its most compelling symbols — as far as the fascination of the North by the South is concerned — is the image of Arcadia.¹ It originated in late Antiquity, when secular and Christian pastoral themes were merging, and it took off in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when it became a major theme in painting and vernacular poetry. For those Northerners who decided to stay at home and dream of the South, the Arcadian image served very well in providing a model and a subject for invention. For the travelers, however, who went to Italy and stayed there awhile, Arcadia was bound to become a problematic concept, because Italian reality clashed with poetic imagery. This was particularly felt by those who stepped out of their colonial environment, learned Italian, and sought contact with the people. Whether under those circumstance Arcadia could survive or not, depended on several factors. If the Italian peasants and the culture of the lower classes could be excluded from the world of poetic and pictorial motifs and themes, and if the definition was confined to silent landscapes and architecture, the problem was solved. Indeed, for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Northerner, Arcadia is a landscape or a *veduta*, empty or populated with idealized figures, an artificial, silent piece of nature. Under Arcadian sound the Northerners understood the *Pastorale*, a sublime genre of art music, which had been created by Italian composers after the *novena*, instrumental tunes played by the shepherds during Advent time.²

Our essay begins at the point when the Germans and Austrians begin to become interested in Italy as a reality. One would expect this to happen in the second half of the eighteenth century, when Johann Gottfried Herder and Goethe spread in their writings a new enthusiasm for the folklore and folk song, for the idiomatic qualities of a culture and its historical and geographical conditions. We might also expect this interest to be corroborated by German literary Romanticism, since the Romantic quest for folk life, too, sprang from a longing for the primitive, original, and for Italy in particular.

* This is the fourth and final part of a larger study of the subject. It originated in a paper for the Second International Meeting of the ICTM Study Group for Musical Iconography, Orta San Giulio, 24–9 May 1988. Elsewhere I dealt with Arcadia and Italian folk music among French/Swiss writers and painters (in particular Madame de Staël and Léopold Robert, see Seebass 1988 and 1991) and Arcadia and musical harmony (Seebass 1992). There is a certain degree of overlap between these articles.

1 The literature on Arcadia is immense and includes prominent writings from scholars in classics (e.g. Bruno Snell), art history (e.g. Erwin Panofsky), and literature (e.g. Benno von Wiese). The reader is referred to Petra Maisak's study (1981) which contains a large bibliography.

2 I am aware that rural Italian music — which is here the immediate point of reference for Arcadian music — is not identical with other music of the lower classes, particularly street and town music. Yet for our purpose we can neglect the difference. Foreigners view all these genres as outside of the "art"-music of their own class, though, when thinking of Arcadia, they have only rural music in mind.

The poetic and pictorial evidence reveals, however, a more complex situation. There are only a small number of depictions of folk music, and whether folk music is shown depends on the particular artistic medium — drawing, watercolor, etching, and oil painting. Moreover, there appears to be a time delay between enthusiasm for the folk song in the literature of *Sturm und Drang*, and the first paintings that can be interpreted as a response to that enthusiasm. It is the literary evidence that, chronologically, comes first. Accordingly, we shall discuss literature and visual arts in this order.

2. German literature: Classical and Romantic idealizations and disregard for reality in novels, plays, and letters

One of the first travellers to Italy from the *Sturm und Drang* period is Wilhelm Heinse (1746–1803). Heinse sets out well prepared for the experience: he has read Winkelmann, and is on the side of the modern poets who have a strong interest in nature and history, reject Anacreontic lyrics, and celebrate the creative ego. With the help of his mentors Christoph Wieland and Ludwig Gleim, he undertakes his trip with minimal financial means and ends up staying in Italy for four years, mixing with the people there. An excellent command of Italian helps him to integrate, and a natural cleverness prevents him from being taken in by coachmen, inn owners, beggars, etc. — something about which other travellers often complained (and still complain). On his return to Germany, Heinse writes the novel *Ardinghello*, whose main character, an Italian Renaissance hero, is as invincible in duels, singing, lute playing, and love affairs as one can be. At the end of the novel, the hero and his consorts and friends retire to an Aegean island where they found a utopian state. The novel seems to be an eighteenth-century implementation both of Tasso's pastoral and erotic Arcadia, as postulated in his *Aminta*,³ and the Renaissance environment of the *corteggiano*. Let us look at a few citations from *Ardinghello* that show Heinse's ideas on music:

Einigemal kam er [Ardinghello] abends auf einem lustigen Nachen mit Weinlaub und Efeu geschmückt, der Zither am Arm im Dithyrambengesang gleich einem jungen Bacchus wieder oder in einem andern Aufzug, und es war immer ein allgemeiner Jubel, denn jedermann wollte ihm wohl. [Heinse 1975: 39]

Gegen Mitternacht wacht ich wieder auf vom Saitenspiel und einer Stimme, die lieblich mein Wesen durchdrang. Ich lauschte und vernahm die Worte und sprang ans Fenster: Die Musik kam aus einem alten Gemäuer, an einen Hügel gebaut [...] Es waren Stenzen eines Märchens von Pulci, die ich gar wohl kannte. Als darauf noch eine weibliche Stimmen zu der männlichen einfiel, so zog auch ich meine Guitarra hervor, brachte sie leis in Stimmung und sang, als sie aufhörten, nach eingen Griffen von ihrer traurigen Harmonie in eine fröhlichere hinüber [...] [Ich] sang, von Begeisterung ergriffen, die Zeiten des Saturnus von Hesperien, wo alle so lebten; wo noch keine Phalaris die goldne Insel der drei Vorgebirge folterte und keine Cäsarn mit Bürgerblute die Felder düngten [...] Ich ging hinunter und ihm entgegen; wir bewillkommten uns und füllten die Becher. Es war ein herrlicher Mann, an die sechzig, ein echter Dichterkopf, viel vom Ideale des Homer, nur nicht blind. [Heinse 1975: 86]

In another instance Heinse describes a moonlit scene in which the group of women and men disrobe and dance a sort of sacred saltarello to the accompaniment of a guitar and a tambourine (Heinse 1975: 196–7).

3 Performed at Ferrara in 1573. See Maisak 1986: 138, with note 4.

Heinse's novel breathes a classical atmosphere, where Dionysus and Homer rule; his music scenes are idealizations, evoking an Arcadian imagery intertwined with the Renaissance ideal of a courtier-like behaviour, and a shade of contemporary musical practice.⁴ The hedonistic and idealistic tenor of the book dissolves social boundaries, so that folk musicians and aristocratic musical dilettants do not seem to be kept apart. In the last mentioned scene, Heinse correctly describes the musical accompaniment for group dance with tambourine (*tamburello*) and mandore (*mandola*). But the realistic detail loses its impact because of the fictional nature of the scene. It does not, in the end, evoke natural folk life,⁵ because Heinse's literary interests and his possibilities for invention are located in a poetic realm, far from social realities.

Our next witness is Goethe, born only three years after Heinse and a visitor to Italy from the fall of 1786 to the spring of 1788. Goethe travels by carriage and lives in a grander style than Heinse, and keeps his company with the German colony of painters and *literati*, in particular J. H. Wilhelm Tischbein and Angelika Kauffmann. Given the length of his stay, he, too, must have frequently come in contact with folk music; we know that he saw the Christmas and Carnival celebrations in Rome two times, and that he travelled widely, even as far as Sicily (Niederer 1980). Given also his incomparable gift for observation and intellectual digestion (Lange 1988, Düsseldorf 1986), we would expect numerous records of musical experiences. But there is almost no trace of this in his literary work, and amazingly little in his diaries and letters (which, almost twenty years later, were cast into his autobiographical *Italienische Reise*). In fact, like many Northerners, he seems rather sensitive to noise, writing in a letter to Herder on 17 February 1787:

Das Carnival hab ich satt! Es ist, besonders an den letzten schönen Tagen ein unglaublicher Lärm, aber keine Herzensfreude. [WA Abt. IV, vol. 8, no. 2576]

Although, after having seen it a second time, Goethe revised a bit his opinion about the carnival, and although there is a music scene included among the 20 colored engravings illustrating his first edition of *Das Römische Carneval* (1789, pl. XIII), the general lack of reference to folk music is even more striking when we recall how frequently he mentions visits to operas and ballet performances and time spent with a young Swiss composer, Philipp Christoph Kayser, whom he had taken under his sponsorship.⁶ That, in some way, Goethe's account of Italian folk music is almost as fictitious as Heinse's is obvious not only from the fact that he created, before he visited his "land of longing", two of the most powerful musical-poetic figures in world literature, Mignon and the harpist,⁷ but also that, once he was there, he never felt reminded of his own invention or obliged to measure it against reality. So Mignon and her father survive in Goethe's oeuvre only as a fiction, unchallenged by critics, until Heinrich Heine, about ten years after the publication of *Wilhelm Meister* and the *Italian Journey*, encountered the real thing, a trio of street musicians, with a harp playing and dancing girl, a bass fiddler, and a singer, and he was quick in lancing a satirical attack against Goethe's fiction, by eternalizing

4 I was not able to find out whether Heinse actually had read Castiglione's famous novel; it seems most likely.

5 Even his diaries do not yield much when it comes to observation of folk life. For an exception see below footnote 18. The only musicological study of Heinse's conception of music ignores questions of folk music and is therefore not relevant for our subject: Hugo Goldschmidt, "Wilhelm Heinse als Musikästhetiker", *Riemann-Festschrift* (Leipzig: Hesse, 1909): 10–9.

6 A good selection of texts pertaining to music is published in *Goethes Gedanken über Musik* 1985.

7 The two figures appear in the 12th chapter of book 4 and thereafter in *Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung*, written between 1777 and 1785. In the printed version *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795) their first appearance is in book 2, chapter 11.

them as a rather disgusting reality. On a full page of his *Reisebilder II* (Heine 1986: 32–3) he describes them, making the girl a street walker, her fiddling father a meager old scamp, and the third figure a robber from the Abbruzzi.⁸ Moreover, to dispel any doubt about his intentions, he twice intersperses citations of the harper's famous song "Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühn" in the narration of his travel journey.

Also among Goethe's correspondents were the children of Herder, and Fritz, the son of Goethe's famous companion Mrs. von Stein. To them he writes on 30 June 1787:

Die Nächte sind auch sehr warm, und da es eben Vollmond ist, sehr schön und reizend. Das Volk ist die ganze Nacht auf den Straßen, besonders die Festtagsnächte, und singt und spielt auf der Zither und jauchzt, und kein Mensch mag zu Hause und zu Bette. [WA Abt. IV, vol. 8, no. 2595]

This quotation is significant, since it seems to be the only comment of Goethe's about folk music in his letters. Writing to children, he was unusually straightforward. Otherwise he always wrote with a public readership in mind. Even the letters to Herder, the promoter of folk song, do not mention the subject.⁹ There are only few instances during his voyage when folk music elicited Goethe's interest, and only one is worthy of inclusion in his *Italian Journey*: while in Venice, his fascination with *Volkspoesie*, i.e. sung poetry of literal and oral traditions, led him to experiment with recitations of Tasso and Ariosto with two gondoliers.¹⁰ But otherwise, and contrary to his reports of visits of concerts and operas, Goethe excluded observations on folk music from the *Italian Journey*; he relegates them to the category of scientific observations (see "Volks gesang" 1973). I shall deal with them elsewhere.

In his essay about Goethe's habits as a traveler and his philosophy of traveling, Victor Lange (1988: 158) concludes with the citation of a most revealing entry in Goethe's diary. While visiting Vicenza, Goethe talks about the need mentally to put aside everything unexpected or unwanted when traveling. This way the mind can concentrate and bring home to the soul what is eternal and unaffected by history. Except for the *Volkspoesie*, Goethe probably deliberately turned his mind away from folk music. By closing out what annoyed or disturbed him, he was able to be more receptive to the wealth of things that mattered to him. Even Goethe's horizon had its limits!

Perhaps it comes as less of a surprise then that Felix Mendelssohn did not have the eye or ear for Italian folk music either. Coming from a upper middle-class background similar to Goethe's, the twenty-year-old traveled to Italy in 1830. He, too, was in Rome at Christmas and got at least as far south as Naples. His musical curiosity did not reach beyond his social sphere, however, and therefore his admiration for Italian landscapes is not paralleled by a love for the musicians living there. What he hears when overlooking the countryside around the lake of Albano is a rather unearthly music, probably more resembling his own symphonies:

[...] aber es ist wie ein sehr liebliches Traumbild, sage ich im Ernst. *Da* steckt Musik drin, *da* tönt's und kling't von allen Seiten, und nicht in den leeren, abgeschmackten Schauspielhäusern.¹¹

8 The parodistic character of this parallel has already been noted by Altenhofer 1986: 305–6, and Alfred Opitz, editor of the relevant volume in Heine's critical edition, 1986, vol. VII, pt. 2, 873 (commentary to 47, 1–5).

9 Herder himself seems to have developed his revolutionary ideas at his desk and purely on the basis of reading. When he undertook his journey to Italy shortly after Goethe's, he seemed to have capsulated himself in a shell which no sound and no image could penetrate; there is no trace of them in his letters and diaries, see his *Italienische Reise* 1988 and the lucid commentary there by A. Meier and H. Hollmer.

10 Diary of 7 October 1986. Venice. WA, Abt. III, vol. 1, 279–81; *Italiänische Reise* (WA, Abt. I, vol. 30: 129–1310. This text is also mentioned in Schmidt 1980: 58 and 62.

11 Letter to his parents, 17 January 1831, ed. 1949: 197.



1. Léopold Robert, *Arrivée des moissonneurs dans les marais pontins*. Paris, Louvre. - Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux

Obviously, Mendelssohn does not have the shrill and raucous sound of Italian bagpipes and oboes in mind when his musical imagination dwells in Arcadia. Of course the landscape appeals to his senses very much — there is not only much textual evidence from his letters, but there are also his drawings which prove his sensibility in this respect —, yet his visual impressions do not need sound. What he sees may stimulate compositions with programmatic elements, but they and the music itself remain German. Although he labels the last movement of his symphony op. 90 “Saltarello”, Italian *ciaramelle* (double-reed pipes) or *zampogne* (bagpipes) are not cited, not even evoked. Only occasionally, 6/8 or 12/8th patterns remind one of the beats of the tambourine (for more, see Seebass 1992). The dichotomy between the visual and the acoustical is even more striking when we read in a later letter that he saw at an exhibition a canvas by Léopold Robert, *L'arrivée des moissonneurs dans les marais pontins* (fig. 1), which depicts Italian folk music and dance most vividly and evocatively.¹²

Another interesting passage is found in the already cited letter of 17 January 1831, describing an evening spent with friends:

Später wurde getanzt, und da hätten Ihr einmal sehen sollen, wie Louise Vernet mit dem Vater die Saltarella tanzte. Als sie nun gar einen Augenblick aufhören mußte und gleich das große Tamburin

12 Oil on canvas, 141,7:212 cm. Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 7663. See Seebass 1988; Gassier 1983: no. 99. Mendelssohn also visited the ateliers of Joseph Anton Koch and the Nazarenes. I suspect that there are other references to this exhibition among the many diaries and letters written by the foreigners in Rome. There is a fascinating account by Heinrich Heine of an exhibition with a number of Robert's paintings (including the *Harvesters*) held at the Louvre. He devotes a whole chapter to Robert in his *Kunstberichte aus Paris* (1831), see Heine 1980: 29–35 (also mentioned in Salmen 1989: 48). The painting was so popular that prints were made of it. For another comment on Robert by a Parisian critic, see below footnote 58.

nahm, darauf losschlug und uns, die wir die Hände nicht mehr rühren konnten, ablöste, da hätt' ich ein Maler sein mögen — dann hätte es ein prächtiges Bild gegeben. [...] Der Großvater Charles Vernet [...] tanzte den Abend einen Contretanz mit so viel Leichtigkeit, er machte so viele Entrechats und variierte seine Pas so gut, daß nur *eines* schade war, daß er nämlich 72 Jahre alt ist. [1949: 199]

It is striking, how much Mendelssohn keeps his German musical world separated from the visual impression; a synaesthetic experience seems to be possible only when he moves in his own German realm. As the citation shows, the *saltarello* is not only danced by the lower classes; it is also an entertainment of the ladies and gentlemen of the higher classes and of the foreign colonies in Rome (although, in the latter case, perhaps an artificial attempt in being Arcadian); and the musical accompaniment is here and there the same. Mendelssohn is not the only one who reports that dances like the *saltarello* and the *tarantella* are known in the higher strata of society; already in 1807, Madame de Staël describes the same situation in book VI in her novel “*Corinne ou l’Italie*” (1853: 92) and the Swedish writer Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom (1790–1855) saw these dances at a feast given by the crown prince of Bavaria in a villa near Rome in 1818 (1967: 241). The question is whether these writers would have been as enthusiastic on the topic, had they observed the dance among highwaymen, poor townspeople, or sailors. With Mendelssohn, at least, we can assume a negative answer; he had no affection for the lower class and their music. In the letter to his parents of 6 June 31 he tells, how he misses “the people” (*das Volk*) in Naples, adding that, of course, the fishermen and *lazzarone* — the archetypal Neapolitan good-for-nothings — could not be counted among the people; they were just savages.¹³ Evidently he was never positively impressed by local Italian culture and he remains especially conscious of his own social and cultural background. He is certainly not alone in this. Even a keen observer and skilled traveller like Johann Gottfried Seume reports only negative impressions when it comes to folk music:

Den musikalischen Talenten und der musikalischen Neigung der Italiener kann ich bis jetzt eben keine großen Lobsprüche machen. Ich habe von Triest bis hierher, auf dem Lande und in den Städten, auch noch keine einzige Melodie gehört, die mich beschäftigt hätte, welches doch in andern Ländern manchmal der Fall gewesen ist. Das Beste war noch von eben diesem meinem ästhetischen Cicerone aus Agrigent, der eine Art Liebesliedchen sang, und sehr emphatisch, drollig genug, immer wiederholte: “Kischta nutte, kischta nutte iu verriu, iu verriu.” (*Questa notte, io verrò.*)¹⁴

Other authors are at least amused by Italian folk music: for example, Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert, the mining councillor and professor of Erlangen, vividly described in his *Wanderbüchlein* (1823) the music of a street fiddler in a far from luxurious inn in Verona:

Wir hatten indeß noch nicht sehr lange so still gesessen, da kam auch ein Geigersmann mit einem kleinen Jungen zu uns herauf und hinein. Es wurde uns ziemlich übel bei dem Spiel zu Muthe, denn der Mann verstund auch was Wirthshausgeigen heißt, [...] der Mann strich, griff und riß dermaßen in seine Geige hinein, kam bald aus dem wohl 30mal gestrichenen Cis dur auf das 17 mal gestrichene F. Moll herunter, dann gerieth er wieder zwischen Dur und Moll hinein, daß es einem vor Rührung war, als wenn sich die Eingeweide im Leibe umwenden wollten, und konnte das auch der beste Magen nicht aushalten. [Schubert 1823: 169–70]

13 1949: 252. Statements about bad organ playing and fiddling in churches can be found in the letters of 10 October 1830 or 13 April 1831; see 1949: 153 and 228. It is striking how, in contrast to his condescending attitude toward the Italian lower class, he mingled freely with Swiss mountaineers, hiking with one of them through the Alps singing and yodeling!

14 *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802*. Erster Theil: von Leipzig nach Syrakus. In *Werke* II: 152. I am grateful to Adolf Seebass, Basel, for this reference.

The text reminds us of Heine, and I am sure that there are probably more of this kind. As we shall later see, some visual artists pick up the satirical possibilities of such situations.

The final example in this *tour d'horizon* is a well-known passage in Georg Büchner's play *Leonce and Lena* (1836), a work that bridges Romanticism and Realism. The hero, Prince Leonce, and his tragicomic servant Valerio decide to escape the provinciality and boredom of their lives and go to Italy:

Ach Valerio, Valerio, jetzt hab ich's! Fühlst du nicht das Wehen aus dem Süden? Fühlst du nicht, wie der tiefblaue, glühende Äther auf und ab wogt, wie das Licht blitzt von dem goldenen sonnigen Boden, von der heiligen Salzflut und von den Marmorsäulen und -leibern? Der große Pan schläft, und die ehernen Gestalten träumen in den Schatten über den tiefrauschenden Wellen von dem alten Zauberer Vergil, von Tarantella und Tamburin und tiefen tollen Nächten voll Masken, Fackeln und Gitarren. Ein Lazzaroni [sic]! Valerio, ein Lazzaroni! Wir gehen nach Italien. [Act I, scene 3; 1970: 117]

We can see that the enthusiasm for a Classical, courtly Arcadia, *à la* Heine, is still as strong as before; but it has now taken on Romantic color combined with realistic exactness in details. Probably this was a result of the considerable literature on Italy that had appeared in the wake of *Ardinghello*. Although Büchner had never been to Italy, his ability to visualize is evocative, and his poetic intensity, even though veiled with irony, is spellbinding. That irony is particularly apparent in the idealization of the *lazzarone*. One could describe the play as an attempt of Valerio to make himself and his master into *lazzaroni*: the dream of Northerners of becoming Southerners.

The cited texts lead to the following conclusions: First, the enthusiasm for Italy of the German poets, writers, and composers between Heine and Büchner does not necessarily lead to ethnic interest, or, put more cautiously: if there is such an interest, it is not revealed in their literary writings. Second, in the more poetic texts (such as Heine's or Büchner's), folk life is idealized and separated from reality, serving almost like a dramatic prop (Heine) or as an element of a dream (Büchner). Third, the authors' disregard or negative assessment of folk music seems to be caused by an assertion of their own cultural background. Within the aesthetic framework of an elevated social class there was some room for exotic elements, but only of the visual or textual kind, not for music. These artists had no problems with adopting as their own Italian light, landscape, and nature, as well as operatic and symphonic music in the art tradition that had been international for several hundred years. But they were deaf to the indigenous sounds of the *ciaramella*, and the street- and inn-music as described by Heine or Schubert.

Such seemingly inconsistent behaviour of travelers and tourists does not surprise the ethnologists and students of acculturation. In most places in the world, music resists cultural adoption or transplantation more than experiences in the visual or linguistic realms.

3. Writings of folklorists and correspondence of visual artists: evidence of appreciation of reality

The idealizations of the exotic by Heine and Büchner are admittedly fascinating for the study of intellectual history; they cannot, however, satisfy our ethnomusicological curiosity for the real. And we cannot believe that the cultural identity of the Northerners is always so ethnocentric that they cannot, in principle, appreciate a music of a different class and different nation. As so often, the answers we get to our questions depend on the character of the sources we study, i.e. the particular literary genres with all that they thematically and stylistically entail. Hence it would be unfair to blame our literary witnesses for not writing about matters that were outside the thematic

possibilities in each genre. With respect to plays, novels, and literary letters, composed for circulation among certain groups in higher society, Italian folk life is unacceptable as a topic and lies outside the expectations of the readership according to which the laws of these genres are defined. Therefore we have to turn to a textual genre in which descriptions of folk life are possible, because they occur in the appropriate context, and because both writer and reader are interested in them. These conditions are met by non-literary sources, such as ethnographic studies or private letters and diaries — written not by the historically- and aesthetically-oriented gentleman on his tour, but by the traveler who has an interest in manners and customs, or by the painter. Earlier, we briefly touched on a few examples: one by Goethe, the scholar; the others by Bergrat Schubert and Heine, with their amused eyes and objectivating minds.

1) Wilhelm Müller's *Sittengeschichte*

It turned out that the many travel books I sifted through had a wonderful surprise in store for me,¹⁵ numerous comments on Italian folk music in a book by Wilhelm Müller (1794–1827). Today Müller is remembered mostly for his poems set to music by Franz Schubert. But during his short life he was far better known for his Philhellenism, evident in his poems about the Greek freedom fighters and in his translation of Greek folk songs from a French edition — activities that gave him the nickname “Griechenmüller”. After having served as a soldier in the wars of liberation, he made a trip to Italy in 1817/18 that resulted in his first book *Rom, Römer und Römerinnen* (1820), “a collection of *lettres intimes* from Rome and the Albanian mountains with some later additions”, as the subtitle says. The author does not give the name of the addressee, and it is therefore not clear whether the letters are fictitious or not. Their style is polished but colloquial; certainly they are not addressed to the kind of audience to whom Goethe and Mendelssohn addressed theirs, for Müller does not care much about antique or Renaissance art, nor opera. It is not the Arcadian atmosphere that attracts him to Rome, but its traditions and customs — Italian culture as lived by all strata of contemporary society. Folk music and folk song are treated very favorably; in numerous passages the author elaborates on the occasions for performances — a charivari for newlyweds, street music, music for the harvest —, on choreographical matters, musical instruments and their playing technique, and especially on the structural and formal characteristics of folk songs, modes of improvisation and oral tradition, metric and rhyme schemes, and musical theater.¹⁶ Hardly ever does Müller use his own cultural background as a yardstick. He places neutral observation before statements of personal taste. Here, for example, is what he says about the musical talents and the singing style in the Campagna Romana:

Aber sobald die Mandelbäume anfangen zu blühen und die ersten Lerchen zwitschern, holt der junge Römer seine Guitarre von der Wand herunter, ersetzt die etwa fehlenden Saiten und knüpft sich ein neues seidenes Band daran. Es ist bekannt, daß die Italiener ein angeborenes Talent für Musik haben. Jeder gemeine Mann spielt seine Guitarre oder Laute, oft bis zur Virtuosität. Der Vater lehrt den Sohn die ersten Handgriffe, der Bruder den Bruder: von Frauen habe ich gehört, daß sie das Guitarrenspiel ohne alle fremde Hülfe gelernt hätten. Der Gesang, sowol der Männer als der Frauen, sagt uns Deutschen im Anfange nicht eben zu: sie tragen, ohne besondere Deklamation, mit starker, scharfer, oft fast kreischender Stimme, vor, doch durchaus rein, hell und im Takte. Jetzt behagt er mir schon besser. [I, 48]

15 My search was by no means exhaustive, though, and it is quite possible that a second look could yield more.

16 Most of the information is found in clusters: vol. I, 43–58, 134–5, 174–6, 242–8, and vol. II, 273.

There is real information in this passage about teaching methods, the importance of the ribbon, the typical vocal timbre unknown in the North, and, in particular, the awareness of different musical tastes between Germans and Italians. Such an attitude gives Müller credibility and authority as an observer and may shed new light on the aesthetic tenets which are the basis for his own poetry. From where does his interest in folklore stem? Is it scientific ethnographic curiosity? Is it an affinity based on emotional closeness, and political partisanship (like Byron, Müller was an ardent advocate of the Greek fight for freedom)? Or is it a feeling of social closeness and empathy? One would need much more space to answer such questions and to compare Müller with other figures who collected Italian folk songs.¹⁷ But this would be the subject for another study. Let me, instead, turn to a special group of letter writers, the painters of the generation of Mendelssohn and Müller.

2) Letters of painters

In a letter to his sister Ottilie, the Nazarene painter Schnorr von Carolsfeld wrote: "Hier in Italien sieht man unter den gemeinen Leuten ganz prächtige Sachen; ihr ganzes Leben, ihre Verrichtungen haben einen viel natürlicheren poetischen Sinn als bei uns." (11/20 June 1818; 1886: 82). This statement very much reflects the genuine interest of the painters of this generation in folk culture and folk music. What in Wilhelm Müller's instance is an appreciation by the intellect, is for them an appreciation of picturesque qualities by the visual senses. Here are a few examples.

The first one is by a young, Catholic painter, Franz Horny (1798–1824), who, because of his poor health, lived mostly outside of Rome, in Olevano, and participated in the life of the farmers there. In a letter to his mother from 24 June 1821 he describes the harvesting in vivid colors:

Der Segen des Feldes ist über alle Begriffe; man erntet Korn für zwei Jahre. [...] Wein, Öl und Kastanien versprechen eine reiche Ernte: Obst gibt es wenig, aber die Feigenbäume sind voll zum brechen. Morgen gehe ich wieder aufs Feld. Wir haben 30 Schnitter; sie sind von den Bergen von Ponsa; mehrere sind darunter, die den Dudelsack blasen, und es ist eine außerordentliche Heiterkeit, zuzusehen; unter Jubel und Gesang wird gearbeitet; ein hiesiger Volksgesang (*voce stesa*), wenn er vielstimmig und gut gesungen wird, was hier der Fall ist, macht mir große Freude. [...] den letzten Abend, kehren sie [i.e. die Schnitter] nach Olevano zurück unter Jubel und Tanzen; sie haben da einen ganz eigentümlichen Tanz, wo sie mit den Sicheln zusammenschlagen, und was sehr malerische anzusehen ist. Dabei sind sie gekleidet in weite Hemden, an der Hüfte umgürtet, das gibt ihnen ganz altertümliches Ansehen. [Schellenberg 1925: 174]

Note Horny's comment on the traditional looks of the shirts of the harvesters, a mode of description in which traces of Romantic enthusiasm for history are apparent. As we shall see, this tendency manifests itself not only in the writings and letters of literary circles (in Germany and in Rome), it sometimes also shows in pictures.

The same enthusiastic spirit and the same sense for the picturesque nature of Italian country life can be found among many artists.¹⁸ Particularly telling is a description of the fair in Frosinone by Friedrich Wasmann (1805–1886):

17 A prominent one was the poet August von Platen, who knew Italian well and lived and traveled in Italy for more than ten years, bought sheet music, and visited not only the opera, but the marionette theater as well, while his Venetian friends had no comprehension of such interests; see von Platen 1900: 704, 818, and *passim*. F. H. von der Hagen was also fond of the puppet theater (1818–21: I, 272).

18 Even in Heinse's diaries and letters, which almost never mention folk music, there is a passage (diaries 1909: 113): "Die Schnitter haben immer einen bey sich mit der Zither [a *mandola*?], der dazu singt; und sie machen oft zusammen einen Chorus."

Die weite, von den fernen Bergen begrenzte, im weichen Licht der Herbstsonne glänzende Ebene war von der fröhlichen Menge belebt, die in Zelten und in Laubhütten schmauste, scherzte, tanzte. Dazwischen tönte der feste Takt des Tamburins und der klagende, verklingende Ton der Ritornelle. Alles erfüllte mich mit einer Freude, dass ich mir sagte: "Hast du nun, was dein Herz begehrt?" Und da am Morgen der Abreise der erste Schnee die entfernten Häupter des Gebirges deckte, ein leises frösteln die bewölkte Luft durchzitterte, da schien es mir noch viel reizender. [1915: 127]

Although these citations are full of visual images and strong perceptions of the picturesque character, what is seen and heard is, at most, sketched with pencil, pen or watercolor, but never translated onto the canvas.

The third example is from the letters of Joseph von Führich (1800–1876). The artist was in Italy from 1827 to 1829 and regularly wrote letters home to his parents (see the edition of 1883). On numerous occasions he reported that he and other artists had participated in popular religious feasts either in Rome or in the countryside. Führich was a practicing Catholic, and accordingly Catholic rituals are frequent subjects in his letters. In one instance he describes a famous processional feast in Latium, called *fiorata*, held on the octave of Corpus Christi (Führich 1883: 23); in another, a feast for St. Mary in Rome, where papal soldiers played pipe, copper cymbals, and drums in front of images of the Virgin (Führich 1883: 52). Twice he wrote about the costumes and the music of the *pifferari*, the famous duo of bagpiper and oboist who fill the streets and courtyards of Rome with music during Christmas time:

Hier in Rom kündet sich die Nähe der Weihnachtsfeiertage sehr bestimmt an; das Läuten der Glocken zu allen Stunden der Nacht hat sich vermehrt und deutet auf das nahe Fest. Auf allen Straßen und Plätzen sieht und hört man die Pifferari. Mit Dudelsack und Pfeife stehen sie an den Madonnenbildern und blasen eine einfach kindliche Weise, die sehr alt, das Original aller Pastorale, an die Urzeit der Väter außerordentlich rührend erinnert. Wenn ich vor Tage erwache, höre ich schon nahe und ferne diese Hirtenmusik; es trägt hier wirklich Alles das Gepräge der Bibel, und man kann sich recht augenscheinlich die 18 Jahrhunderte zurück nach Palästina versetzen. [Führich 1883: 56–7]

Upon request of his parents, he gave details about a traditional Christmas *crèche*, the *presepe* (*ibidem*: 80–1). In another instance he comments on the use of Turkish music played by military bands at the octave of Corpus Christi in Rome and finds that such "*grimmige Musik*" is not really detrimental to the Catholic spirit in Rome, "where everything has a deeper meaning" as he declares.

That Führich's interest is neither literary nor pictorial, but a Romantic mixture of religion, history, and folklore, is proven by the fact that he did not much care about musicians as subject matter for his sketches and paintings. Although he and Horny and some other young painters seem to have just the kind of interest in folk life we could wish for, they were not keen on painting it.

This is fortunately different with the already cited Friedrich Wasmann. Five years younger than Führich, he converted to Catholicism, under the influence of the ritual life he discovered in Italy, and left us not only a colorful description of the *pifferari*, but also two canvasses and several drawings fitting his description:

Der italiänische Winter und die hl. Adventszeit kündete sich mit einer längeren Regenzeit und den Pfeifen des Dudelsackes an; indem neapolitanische Hirten, wie es von alters her üblich ist, um diese Zeit nach Rom kommen, auf Straßen, öffentlichen Plätzen und in den Hausfluren vor den Madonnenbildern die himmlische Mutter und das Jesuskindlein begrüßen, ihre einfachen Stücke spielend und etwas dazu singend. Früh morgens, wenn alles noch dunkel war, wurde ich oft durch ihre schrillen Töne und die kindliche, nicht unangenehme Melodie geweckt, so daß es sich mir einprägte und zu einem größeren Genrebilde Veranlassung gab, wozu S. Maria Maggiore, aus der Ferne durch

die Tür eines Hauses gesehen, zum Hintergrund diente. Gott wollte mich durch einen christlichen Eindruck an sich ziehen, der auch seine Wirkung nicht verfehlte, aber wieder verklang, wie eine Melodie verklingt und mit ihr die Empfindung derselben. [1915: 110]

There are several reasons which make this text so fascinating. Foremost is the fact that, contrary to Northern literary figures discussed earlier, Wasmann and the other Catholic painters liked the sound of bagpipe and oboe, because they linked it to the many external, ceremonial aspects of Catholic ritual life, to which they were so much attracted and for which there is no parallel in Protestant faith. It seems indeed that the *pifferari* evoked in them a feeling for the innocent simplicity of the Christian message, and emotionalized and idyllicized the religious experience in a Romantic fashion. Wasmann directly compares the experience of a temporal (i.e. instantaneous) religious intensity with the temporality of the musical sound and feels, at the same time, the urge to eternalize it through a fixation in a painting — not a painting in the category of landscapes, however, but a genre painting on a large canvas.

4. Pictures¹⁹

1) Oil paintings

The experiences sought by the Northern writers of Goethe's generation in Italy were basically the same as those the painters expected when they undertook the journey to the south. Both were not only seeking the southern light and landscape, but also the ancient sculptures and architecture in their original forms and their transformations through the art of the Renaissance and the Baroque. While Heinse wrote his novel and Goethe wrote his *Iphigenie* and his *Torquato Tasso*, painters like Philippe Hackert (1737–1807), Franz Kobell (1749–1822), or Johann Georg von Dillis (1759–1841) visualized their experiences in the veduta and the ideal landscape.²⁰ These paintings are in essence Arcadian. They display the rural and pastoral, they emphasize the calm repose of the open topography with wide vistas. Geographical accuracy is not a primary concern, but idealization does not mean avoidance of topographical correctness either, since the historicity of Italy remains a part of artistic consciousness (cf. Steingräber 1983: 26–8).

The concern for people, however, is minor, even in genres less estimable than oil painting.²¹ If they are depicted, their role is to help identify the subject as Arcadian by vivifying and humanizing the scenery as *locus amoenus*, to stress purity and innocence, and to remind the viewer of the topical quality of the subject and its roots in pastoral Greek and Roman literary genres, to which the painters sometimes even allude directly by the choice of the subject matter, such as a Bacchic festivity, scenes with Diana, etc. Music and dance, with the help of antique lyres or lute-guitars, mandolines, and in particular the tambourine, are not uncommon among the pastoral scenes.

19 For my selection the archive of the *Répertoire international d'iconographie musicale* (RIdIM) at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich was most helpful. Whenever an item is documented in this archive, it is so indicated in my reference. It is my pleasure to thank Dr. Monika Holl, Munich, for her help and hospitality.

20 For examples by the Dutch and English schools, see *München* 1983, cat. nos. 121–127 (Dutch), nos. 133–137 (English).

21 An exception is J. F. A. Tischbein's *Italienische Landleute*, see below, or, from a slightly later period, the canvas by Johann Erdmann Hummel showing the widespread subject of a balance suspended on the door lintel, (1823), 75:85,3 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Neue Galerie. *Paris* 1976: 92–3.



2. Johann Georg von Dillis, *Ansicht von Grottaferrata*. München, Neue Pinakothek. – Photo: Museum, no. 72.131

A charming example of Classicism of this kind is von Dillis' *Ansicht von Grottaferrata* (fig. 2).²² It was probably painted during the first of his many stays in Rome (1795 or shortly thereafter) and contains key elements of the Classicist style. A balance of symmetrical and asymmetrical features, delicately staggered layers of depth, a very light sky with transparent morning light flowing through the tree leaves in their autumn colors, and a very careful disposition of the topographical elements — the central mountain, the winding river valley with strong gravity points to the left and the right (abbey, hills, and rocks). The human figures are placed in a way that they appear merely accidental, a gentle hint that the landscape is not only nature and history. But none of the figures has much light. The guitar player, by being placed on the main vertical axis, has some prominence, yet only in relation to the other people, not to nature. One could not say that music is a major theme in the painting. At most, it makes the canvas more attractive and diverse in content.

The next generation of artists presents a rather contradictory picture. The Protestant North Germans like Ph. O. Runge and C. D. Friedrich create a highly emotional Romantic world of their own and never travel to Italy. Among the Catholics in the south the approaches are

22 Johann Georg von Dillis (1759–1841), *Ansicht von Grottaferrata* (ca 1795), oil on wood, 34:46 cm (oval format). München, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek, inv. no. WAF 211. (RidIM).

altogether different and varied. Most important among them is a group of painters in Vienna. Protesting the academic trends, they formed the so-called Lukas-Bund and emigrated to Rome. There they lived in a semi-monastic setting and developed a style modeled after late medieval and early Renaissance paintings and imbued with a soft, religious emotionalism. The interest of these Nazarenes (as they came to be called) in landscapes and contemporary scenes was minimal, and they are of interest to us only insofar as their rigorous aesthetic concepts prevented younger artists from coming into their own. A different avenue was taken by Joseph Anton Koch, a Tyrolian painter (born 1768) who arrived in Italy in 1794 and stayed there until his death in 1839 (Lutterotti 1940).

Attempts to classify Koch either as a Classicist or a Romantic run into difficulties, because his transition from the idealized to the emotionalized landscape is smooth. Most art historians prefer to view him as a Romantic. In his graphic works, where the emphasis is on historical and mythical subjects, he has much in common with the Nazarenes, but in his paintings he is different. And he has even less in common with the North Germans. In his faithfulness to landscape and nature he resembles the Classicists, and some of his paintings are purely mythical, Arcadian landscapes, such as his *Apoll unter den Hirten*.²³ But Koch's most important paintings contain two clearly Romantic elements that separate him from Classicism. First, he gives his landscape a grandiose, majestic, even cosmic dimension, and second, he treats the human figures in his paintings not as mere decorative props or mythical accoutrements but as inhabitants and owners of the soil. They are contemporaries who seem naturally to live, to work, and to dance there. When Koch describes to a Mr. von Asbeck the picture he is going to paint for him, he explains:

Die Landschaft wird nach Landessitte aus-staffiert, mit Figuren, welche singen und tanzen. Sie wissen wohl, daß die Italiener lustig sind, wenn sie Laune dazu haben. [Emphasis mine; Lutterotti 1940: 149]

Note that Koch speaks of *ausstaffieren* (to equip); the figures are added at a particular point in the conception of the painting. But these are not pale mythical personifications: in their Italian costume and manner they give the painting a different and deeper meaning. Through them his landscapes become linked to Italian socio-cultural reality.

The relationship between humans and nature is not the same for his Alpine and Italian scenes. As an example of the former, take the powerful scene of his Alpine fatherland captured in the famous painting of the *Schmadribachfall*,²⁴ showing an overwhelming, majestic mountain range with glaciers and, in the middleground, a tiny shepherd carrying an alphorn (fig. 3). Even the mightiest of all folk instruments is reduced to insignificance as anything human in view of the overwhelming power of nature. Koch created a sort of Italian equivalent to this Alpine painting in the *Landschaft mit dem Regenbogen I* (fig. 4).²⁵ The grandeur of the Alps is replaced by the cosmic rainbow which contains and symbolizes the harmony between sky, landscape, castle and town, and the music-making shepherds in the foreground. There are conceptual fissures in this picture, because the urban dwellings in the background appear uninhabited, while the countryside in the middle- and foreground comes to life through the human beings nestled

23 Innsbruck, Ferdinandeum inv. no. gem 356, 81:122 cm, Lutterotti 1940: 691.

24 *Der Schmadribachfall II* (1821/22), oil on canvas, 132:110 cm. München, Bayerische Gemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek. Lutterotti 1940: G 53. In the first version of the painting (Lutterotti 1940: G 16), the musician blows into a very thin instrument.

25 (1805), oil on canvas, 118:113,5 cm. Karlsruhe, Badische Kunsthalle. Lutterotti 1940: G 10.



3. Joseph Anton Koch, *Schmadribachfall II.* München, Neue Pinakothek. – Photo: Museum, no. 82.232



4. Koch, *Heroische Landschaft mit dem Regenbogen I.* Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle. – Photo: Museum

into this and that corner. The humans, including the player with the reed instrument, are clad in antique costumes. Friedrich Müller, in his *Kunstnachrichten aus Rom* of 1812 speaks of “heroischen, mit Figuren geschmückten Landschaften” (F. Müller 1812: 190–1).²⁶ In the next series of pictures (figs. 5–9) the contrasts and tensions are mitigated: the artist takes back the grandeur and removes the artificiality of the architecture and the mythical figures. Now they emanate contemporary Italian pastorality. As the ink sketch of the *Landscape near Olevano* (fig. 5)²⁷ and the final painting (fig. 6)²⁸ show, Koch never isolates the idyllic from its natural environment; he does not fall back into “classicizing”, or evoking historical or mythical worlds. The foreground is almost covered with animals and people forming a concave bow stretching over the full length of the picture. Another procession of farmers moves from left to right in the middle ground and a third group of people is in the background on the left. The two versions are not devoid of classicistic elements of composition and balanced construction, — as we observed in Dillis’ painting — which seem as much at work here as a post-classical emphasis on key elements of content, viz. peasant activities, motherhood, music and dance, mighty nature, and impressive manmade buildings. Although scholars are not sure whether the drawing was in fact made for this painting, the reversal of the moving direction of the main group of people makes sense: in the final version they come from the right and force the onlooker’s view toward the left, where there is more activity in the foreground and a deeper prospect into the background. Note that there is music both on the left (a *zampogna* player) and the right side (a dancing couple with *tamburello* and lute-guitar).

Another of Koch’s Arcadian paintings is his *Tibergegend bei Rom mit ländlichem Fest* (figs. 7–8).²⁹ Here the background is far more open and there is almost no middleground. As a result the various activities in the foreground become very much the central theme of the canvas. Even more than in the previous pictures, Koch pays a lot of attention to naturalistic details. The pulsating life among Italian *contadini* is for him a reality. They completely replace the artifice of Anacreontic scenes of the Classicists. Comparing sketch with canvas, one notes how much the sense of space and depth depends on Koch’s use of surface and color. There is a major difference between sketch and finished version: for the latter, Koch added a panpiper in the lower left corner. It confirms the pervasiveness of music.³⁰

26 One of the more elaborate descriptions of the painting is found in Schrader (1967: 14–6). Aside from the contrast between heroic elements in the background of the painting and the idyllic scenes in the foreground, he considers the painting unproblematic. For town, temple, and castle, he refers to the idea of architecture being petrified music, a comparison which was, at that time, on everyone’s mind, including Goethe’s (*ibidem*: 15). But I suspect that this idea is more a quadrivial topos in a classicist version than a genuinely poetic invention. The harmony may be realized mathematically, perhaps as a Pythagorean concept, but not as a sensual experience or a poetic condensation. For a discussion of Arcadian harmony, see Seebass 1992, and below.

27 J. A. Koch, *Landschaft bei Olevano mit Zug tanzender Landleute* (ca. 1816 or 1823/24), pen over pencil, squared, 23.7:36 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 1952.7. Lutterotti 1940: Z 382; Basel 1982: no. 53.

28 J. A. Koch, *Landschaft bei Olevano mit Zug tanzender Landleute* (1823/24), oil on canvas, 58.5:82.5 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. 395. Lutterotti 1940: G 62.

29 J. A. Koch, *Tiberlandschaft mit fröhlichen Landleuten* (1817/18), pen over pencil, squared, 33.7:47 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 1927.221. Lutterotti 1940: Z 3; Basel 1982: no. 54. *Idem*, *Tibergegend bei Rom mit ländlichem Fest* (1818), oil on canvas, 74.5:105 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. 394. Lutterotti 1940: G 46.

30 This is the only example of a panpipe which I have come across in the study of more than a hundred pictures of this time period. Although the collection of musical instruments in the Museum of Popular Art in Rome contains two panpipes (ascribed with a question mark to central Italy), my Italian colleagues, Febo Guizzi, Roberto Leydi, and Nico Staiti, doubt that the instrument did exist.



5. Koch, *Landschaft bei Olevano*. Pen on pencil. Basel, Kupferstichkabinett. – Photo: Museum



6. Koch, *Landschaft bei Olevano*. Basel, Kunstmuseum. – Photo: Museum



7. Koch, *Tiberlandschaft mit fröhlichen Landleuten*. Pen on pencil. Basel, Kupferstichkabinett. – Photo: Museum, no. 6763



8. Koch, *Tibergegend bei Rom mit fröhlichen Landleuten*. Basel, Kunstmuseum. – Photo: Museum

I am convinced that the social and cultural background of Koch's childhood among poor mountain people explains this view of nature and of mankind in nature. In a letter he acknowledges these origins (Goldfarb 1982: 292–4). Thus, for Koch the life of his peasants is not meant to be an idealistic fiction, just as he does not want to leave any doubt that his own upbringing was anything but Arcadian. In a letter to Baron von Uexküll of 22 February 1806 he remarks:

Das arkadische Hirtenleben, so wie man solches sich in modernen Idyllen und schönen Romanen denkt, wird ein wenig in die Pfanne gehauen, ebenso die Psalmidee von der Humanität. [v. Schneider 1938: 198]

Whether Koch ever actually read Schiller's essay "Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung" (1795) or not, his aesthetic tenets for landscape painting perfectly fit into Schiller's category of the idyllic: the real and the ideal are brought into harmonious balance and charged repose ("energische Ruhe", see Busch 1978: 322–1928; cf. also Robels 1974: 48–9). If Koch shares with the earlier Classicists the aim of escape into the ideal (Busch 1978: 330), it must be emphasized that his shepherds were taken from Italian reality. None of the other artists had this existential relationship with the subjects depicted.³¹

In the late 1810s, after the end of the Napoleonic wars, a new wave of young painters came to Italy, among them Horny and Führich, as well as a very talented young student from Heidelberg, Carl Philipp Fohr (1795–1818). Two works, one by master Koch, the other by disciple Fohr (figs. 9–10),³² represent the same scenic spot near Olevano in the mountains south of Rome, a place that Koch discovered in 1809 and that became the summer resort of the German colony of painters. A comparison of the two pictures enables us to analyze the progress of Romantic elements in German painting of that time. Koch's human figures are of smaller proportions, the bagpiper — though in a very central spot — is as much part of nature as the shadow of the tree with which he is surrounded, and the goats, dogs, and people in the fore- and middleground are scattered almost like flowers over the canvas. Sky, mountains, woods, and shrubs form a living harmony with people and animals. The atmosphere of this picture is the same as in the ones we discussed above (figs. 5–8). If I had to point out a picture in which the idea of music could serve as a poetic metaphor of its content, in which the musician stands for a larger concept of harmony, I would choose this. The picture reflects in a better, more congenial way Mendelssohn's sentiment of harmony, or, for the matter, any other traveller's from the North, than the evocation of *innere Klänge*.

Fohr's painting, though unfinished, is more ambivalent and more charged. First, the contrasts between light and dark are enhanced, with the shade now also covering the group of chatty pilgrims to the right; the distribution of shade and light is somewhat erratic, unnatural, almost violent, and certainly far from the tectonic functionality with which Koch handles it. As to topography, Fohr's landscape is realistic too, but the people in the fore- and middleground are not *Ausstaffierungen* but very much the core of the painting itself. While in Koch's case, one could speak of a symbiotic harmony between landscapes and people, here it seems the landscape is the environment for the people. They are of much larger size and significance: pilgrims to the right, a mother with children

31 Except for the Jurassien Léopold Robert, see below and Seebass 1988.

32 Koch, *Landschaft in der Nähe von Rocca San Stefano* (1821?), washed sepia on brown paper, 44,2:60,7 cm. Kiel, Kunsthalle und Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 247b. Not in Lutterotti; the reproduction in Robels 1974: pl. 7, is inverted (RIDIM). Fohr, *Gebirgslandschaft mit Hirten* (1818, unfinished), oil on canvas, 98,4:135,5 cm. Darmstadt, Schloßmuseum. Frankfurt 1968: no. 7.



9. Koch, *Landschaft in der Nähe von Rocca San Stefano*. Kiel, Kunsthalle und Graphische Sammlung. – Photo: Museum

approaching a water source, and two shepherd musicians in the middle ground. I read an ominous element of Romantic tragedy in this painting — not innocent quietness (Schrade 1967: 62), nor “ein herzlich-sanftes, deutsch-eindringliches Landschaftsgefühl” (Waetzold 1927: 176), nor the mere product of a Koch successor (Maisak 1981: 234).³³ In the preparatory drawing for the painting (fig. 11),³⁴ all human figures turn their backs to the viewer and leave the scene. The musicians and the pilgrims are already in the shadow; the woman and child are about to recede into it. In the final painting the idea has lost its blunt offensiveness, yet the negative message is still there, because the central group looks far from inviting. Only the boy carrying the vessel watches the viewer, while the infant hides his face at mothers neck, as if frightened, and the mother stares slightly downwards and to the right as if to ask us to leave her alone; she’s got to go about her business. In Schiller’s terminology the painting illustrates the elegiac principle, where Italian nature and its artistic contemplation by foreigners are in conflict and become a subject of grief:

33 It is disappointing that both Waetzold’s monograph *Das klassische Land, Wandlungen der Italiensehnsucht* (1927) and Maisak’s study on Arcadia (1981) concentrate, even for art of the nineteenth century, exclusively on the analysis of landscapes. This not only leads to a questionable interpretation in the instance of a painting like Fohr’s, but it misses the point of the contradictory nature the concept of Arcadia in the first place. Perhaps this is too much to expect from a publication of the 1920s, but not of a book of the eighties, when art history has recognized that aesthetic concepts cannot be fully understood outside of their social context.

34 *Gebirgslandschaft mit Hirten* (1817/18), washed pen over pencil, squared, 25.4:38.9 cm. Frankfurt (Main), Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 181. Hardenberg and Schilling 1925: 74; *Frankfurt* 1969: no. 234.



10. Carl Philipp Fohr, *Gebirgslandschaft mit Hirten*. Darmstadt, Schlossmuseum. – Photo: Museum

Auch diese [elegische] Gattung hat, wie die Satire, zwei Klassen unter sich. Entweder ist die Natur und das Ideal ein Gegenstand der Trauer, wenn jene als verloren, dieses als unerreicht dargestellt wird. Oder beide sind Gegenstand der Freude, indem sie als wirklich vorgestellt werden. Das erste gibt die *Elegie* in engerer, das andere die *Idylle* in weitester Bedeutung [...] Bei der *Elegie* [darf] die Trauer nur als eine durch das Ideal erweckte Begeisterung fließen. [Schiller 1962: 706]

The “naive” status of the artist — in Schiller’s terms —, in which artist and subject are in unconscious harmony, is altogether gone. Fohr places himself outside of his subject matter, his emotional involvement is conceptualized — to use Goldfarb’s definition (1982: 284) — and thus his painting is “sentimental” by representing both the Arcadian subject and the painter’s alienation from it.

As to the musicians, they are — like the other figures —enlarged in comparison with the sketch. Yet their prominence results from what might be called negative accentuation, i.e. by defying the viewer’s expectation. There exists a sketch for the musicians on a fly leaf.³⁵ As in the drawing (*fig. 11*), the musician on the left plays a transverse flute. This is ethnographically unlikely

35 Two heads (left border), the two musicians with transverse flute and *ciaramella* (top), a male nude (top right border, fragment), and two views of a nude youth playing a wind instrument. Brush, sepia, and pencil, 33.7:20, *ibidem* inv. no. 183; see *Frankfurt* 1969: no. 235 and pl. 72. Also reproduced in Hardenberg and Schilling 1925: pl. 38, and Bernhard 1974: II, 324. Margarete Bernhard’s publication contains a number of sketches with music scenes by German artists of the first half of the 19th century.

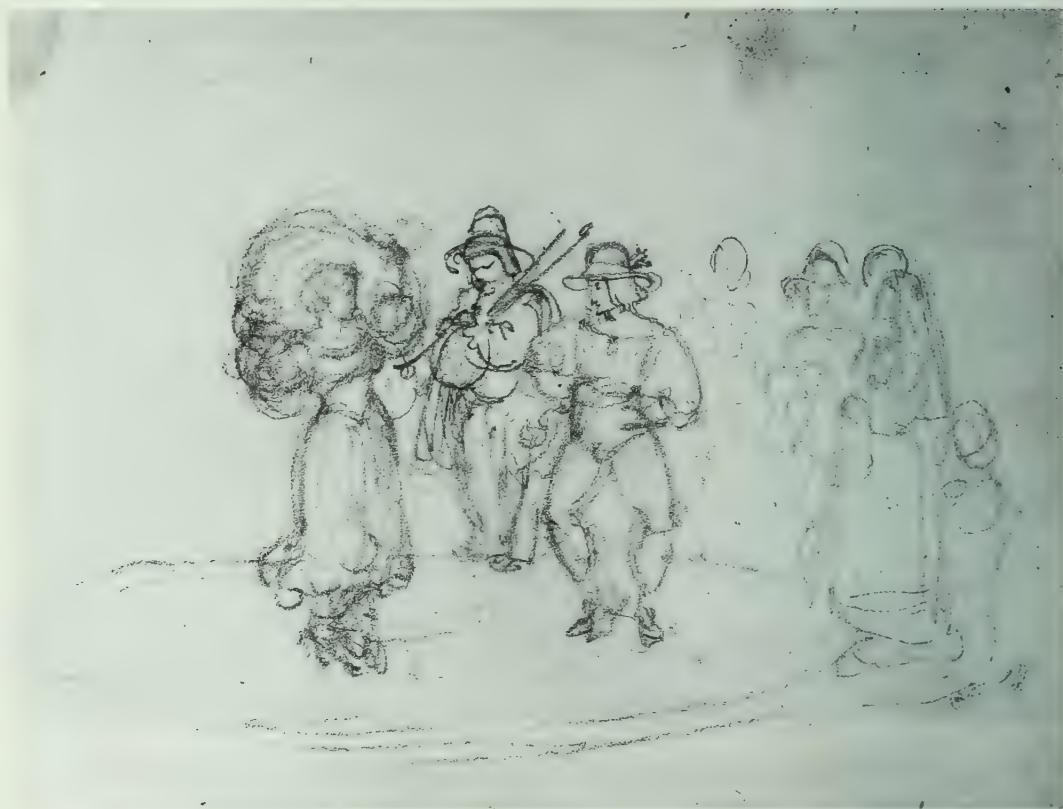


11. Fohr, *Gebirgslandschaft mit Hirten*. Pen. Frankfurt (Main), Städelsches Kunstinstitut. – Photo: Ursula Edelmann, Frankfurt

and reveals ties to the world of drawings of scenes of the German historical past, the Romantic *altdeutsche Vergangenheit*, which we already touched upon when discussing a passage from Horny's letter. Interest in such historic topics is present in Fohr's work from the pre-Italian phase in Munich and Heidelberg (1815–6); it can produce strange mixes of elements (e.g. in costumes and movements), as in the italo-teutonic dance scene of *fig. 12*.³⁶ For the final oil canvas (*fig. 10*) however, Fohr changed the instruments to the more common combination of *ciaramella* (left) and bagpipe (right). Yet this bagpipe is not an Italian *zampogna* — as it is in all of Koch's paintings! —; the drones reach upwards and are visible above the left shoulder, contrary to all Italian types with all pipes pointing downwards. There are two possible explanations. Either Fohr was not aware of the organological difference, or he changed it deliberately, because, with the back of the musician turned to the viewer, it would not have been clear what instrument was played. The position of the players in the picture being particularly important to him, he decided that an ethnographic incorrect instrument was a price he could pay — especially since the future German owner of the canvas, the princess of Hesse, would not be familiar with Italian folkmusic anyway.

Most curiously, the bagpiper of the oil painting and the two preparatory sketches seems to be something like a recurring topos of Fohr's, almost an obsession — a dream figure. It also occurs

³⁶ Untitled: dance scene, pen sketch, 7,8:10,7 cm. *ibidem*, inv. no. 202. (RIdIM); *Frankfurt* 1969: no. 197. Cf. also the sketch with a bagpiper and two other figures, *ibidem*, inv. no. 200. (RIdIM); *Frankfurt* 1969: no. 195.



12. Fohr, *Tanzszene*. Frankfurt (Main), Städelsches Kunstinstitut. – Photo: Ursula Edelmann, Frankfurt

prominently in a watercolor *Ponte Salario* (fig. 13).³⁷ Here too, the bagpiper is placed in the shadow and walks out of the picture, downwards, his back to the viewer. In later sketches used as preparations for a religious painting on the Flight to Egypt, Fohr kept the bagpiper as a subject (fig. 14)³⁸ and had even drawn him before focussing on Joseph and Mary riding the donkey.

With this additional information, young Fohr's message becomes quite clear: When all is said and done there is no bridge between the Italian natives with the raucous sounds of their bagpipes and the foreigners from the North, who seek enlightenment there, lured by the dream of Arcadia. Arcadia seems to be declared an illusion, and when the foreigners enter the Arcadian theater, as it were, music is among the first elements to be misunderstood and hence will leave the stage.³⁹ Judging from the many painters and writers of that generation who died at a very young age — Fohr himself drowned in the Tiber at 23, with the oil painting unfinished — it seems the decision of the many other Romantic artists and writers not to go South was born out of the sensible

37 (1817), watercolor, 20,7:38,1 cm, *ibidem*, inv. no. 16 163. (RidIM); Frankfurt 1969: no. 219.

38 (1817/18), sketch after water color of *Ponte Salario*, pencil, 20,8:38 cm, *ibidem*, inv. no. 178. (RidIM); Frankfurt 1969: no. 220.

39 Robels' claim of "friedliche Menschen [...] von beglückender Lebensbejahung" (1974: 57) is at least misleading since it ignores the tension between what the people are and what they signify.



13. Fohr, *Ponte Salario*. Watercolor. Frankfurt (Main), Städelsches Kunstinstitut. – Photo: Ursula Edelmann, Frankfurt



14. Fohr, *Ponte Salario*. Preparatory sketch. Frankfurt (Main), Städelsches Kunstinstitut. – Photo: Ursula Edelmann, Frankfurt

instinct that the Elysian South could nourish their souls only as long as they were not challenged by Italian reality.

Contrary to the case of Koch, about whose interests in pictorial motifs we know much more, our conclusions about Fohr can only be tentative because his artistic output is so much smaller, including only a handful of paintings. Still it is clear that folk music figures most prominently in Fohr's thinking. The departure of the *ciaramella* and *zampogna* from the scene suggests that their sound is unbearable to the Northerners' ears; it symbolizes the faltering of the idea of Arcadia for those who do not close their eyes to reality.

2) Watercolors and sketches

Other painters, if judged by their oil canvasses, are not much interested in the topic of folk music or folk life in general. The oil painting is for them not the appropriate medium for this. We are more successful in our search, if we turn to watercolors and sketches. They, finally, seem to reflect something of the impressions and perceptions of folk life expressed in the letters and diaries discussed above. From the wealth of watercolor and sketch material Hans Geller published in 1954 a selection of twenty-two music pictures of the omnipresent *pifferari* with their double-reed *ciaramella* and the *zampogna*, most of them by German artists born around 1800. How can we explain this contrast between oil painting, where the subject of folk music is practically absent, and sketch or watercolor, where music making is a favorite topic?

The painters of the Northern artists' colonies in Rome basically divided their energies as follows (see Richter's autobiography, 1922: *passim*, and Robels 47–50): sketching and painting in watercolors outdoors, in the streets and taverns of Rome, and in the Albanian and Sabinian mountains; sketching nudes in the academies; and painting large canvasses in oil in their ateliers. There are marked differences, not only in the work process itself, with sketches taking only minutes or hours to be completed, and canvasses months, even years, but also in the size, and the topics. In contrast to the noble canvas, the choice of motifs (including music and dance) is wide for tempera and watercolor, and almost unlimited for sketching and drawing. Compared to the genres in literature and the visual arts, these sketches and watercolors are therefore the equivalent of private letters and ethnographic accounts.

Let me begin with the tempera *Italianische Landleute* (fig. 15) by Johann Friedrich August Tischbein (1750–1812).⁴⁰ At the border of a lake or a bay of the sea, a couple is dancing to the accompaniment of two tambourine-playing women. There are many bystanders, mostly female. They belong to a higher social class, as indicated by their costumes and the palazzo-like architecture on the left. The painting represents the kind of gathering of the upper classes where the saltarello is danced, as described in some of the writings cited above. A similar atmosphere is present in an etching (fig. 16) by Johann Heinrich Ramberg (1763–1840).⁴¹ The work was done in Hanover, not in Italy, where Ramberg had been from 1791 to 1793. Indeed, the scene has only the flavor of Italy, slightly veiled by the satirical distance of an artist who was particularly famous as an engraver for almanacs and pocket calendars. The two guitarists seem to play an amorous tune, while the fiddler watches rather fiercely, and the drummer boy seems more amused by what is going on in the center. On the balcony of the mansion appears a corpulent cleric, with a lady to his right daintily drawing a veil over her head, and to his left a figure somewhat resembling Goethe. The costumes are not those of Italian peasants. Italian folk life is present here, if at all, in a Jean Paulesque, satirical, almost historizing sublimation.

Even the first generation of the Nazarenes, whose credo was not without Romantic elements, shows hardly any interest in Italian folk life. But things are very different with the generation born in the 1790s, the painters Fohr, Führich, and Horny, and in the first years of the nineteenth century such as Theodor Weller (1802–1880), August Lucas (1803–1863) and others.⁴² They

40 23,8:33,3 cm, *ibidem* inv. no. 1689. (RIDIM).

41 *Volkstanz* (1800), etching, 45,5:54,3 cm. Den Haag, Gemeentemuseum, PM 721 zj. I owe this source and the photo to the kindness of Dr. Magda Kyrova, Den Haag.

42 For the negative attitude of the Nazarenes, see Metken 1981: 72; except that the author includes artists such as Fohr and Horny under the Nazarenes, from whom they were better kept separate. Many more music scenes are collected in the RIDIM archive in Munich. For Führich, see Wörrndle 1914; for Horny, see Schellenberg 1925 and Scheidig 1954.



15. Johann Friedrich August Tischbein, *Italienische Landleute*. Frankfurt (Main), Städelches Kunstinstitut. – Photo: Ursula Edelmann, Frankfurt



16. Johann Heinrich Ramberg, *Tanzszene*. Den Haag, Gemeentemuseum. – Photo: Museum



17. Führich, *Perugia, aus dem Garten der Villa Zanetti*. Köln, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. – Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, no. 88 503

must have been encouraged by Koch, their master and father-figure, with his Italian wife.⁴³ Fig. 17⁴⁴ shows a pen drawing by Führich, strikingly combining Italian playfulness with their natural environment. Together with a guitar player, we share from the veranda a vista of Perugian landscape. Unlike to Koch, who was able to keep the aesthetics of his landscape paintings separate from his mostly graphic oeuvre with literary and religious subject matters, Fohr, Führich, and in particular Horny were caught in the middle between a very strong and personal interest in Italian country life and the aesthetic straightjacket of the Nazarenes, who insisted on elevated themes and sublime style, and promoted the *altdeutsch*-Romantic subjects. Horny, although hard pressed into the direction of the Nazarenes by his Maecenas, Baron Rumohr, could not reconcile his sense for reality with the imposed aesthetics. He never was successful with the canvas; when he died at 26 he left behind only watercolors and sketches of a striking, intimate, and serious quality — mostly landscapes, but some of them with peasants and musicians.⁴⁵

43 There is an amusing sketch (a) and a small oil painting (b) by Führich, showing him and Koch around a brazier next to two *pifferari* playing in front of a Madonna and some other figures: *Adventszeit in Rom mit Meister Koch und Führich am Kohlenherde*. (a) (1827), pencil, 14.5:22.5 cm; see Wörndle 1914: no. 2929. (b) (1930), oil on wood, 14: 22 cm. Wien, Slg. Fürst von Liechtenstein. See Wörndle 1914: no. 292.

44 *Perugia, aus dem Garten der Villa Zanetti*, pen, 12:19.1 cm. Köln, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, inv. no. Z 1939/68. (RldIM).

45 See the material in Scheidig 1954. I am particularly thinking of no. 307a, *Talgrund vor Olevano* (pl. 23) or no. 337, *Landschaft mit wandernden Landleuten* (pl. 41).



18. Bartolomeo Pinelli, *Carnevale in Roma* (?). – Photo: after Accrocca and Brosio 1971

Although there were strong religious and socio-cultural reasons for these artists to busy themselves with sketches of Italian folk life, it should not be forgotten that they also had before them the graphic output of an Italian artist, Bartolomeo Pinelli, who inundated the shops with his collections of engravings of *costumi* (Fagiolo and Marini 1983, Seebass 1988: 60–6). Pinelli's various *Raccolte di costumi pittoreschi* (1809 and later) were hot sellers, and sought after not only by his compatriots, but by the tourists too. Wilhelm Müller refers his readers to specific engravings by Pinelli as illustrations of his music descriptions (1820: I, 79, II 173). They satisfied in an ideal way the Romantic curiosity for the exotic, the strange, the humorous, and the folkloristic (see *figs.* 18–9). Of course, the Northerners did not descend to the level of engraved *costumi* — they considered Pinelli as a clever money-maker at best (and probably envied him nevertheless); but indirectly, I am sure, they absorbed his frank realism and lack of preconceptions. Fortunately there is at least one outsider who could not be deterred from picking up Pinelli's ideas. An unaffiliated amateur from Basel, Hieronymus Hess (1799–1850), published in imitation of Pinelli, a series of etchings of *Neapolitan Folkscenes*, among which no. 4 shows *I zampognari* (*fig.* 20).⁴⁶

Hess, too, inclines towards the comical and the caricature, and his renderings of music scenes can be set in parallel to the amused remarks, some examples of which were cited above, about the cacophony of Italian street musicians.

⁴⁶ (1819), etching, 14.6:10.8 cm, no. 4 of the series of Neapolitan folk scenes. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 1851.33.7. For Hess, see Pfister-Burkhalter 1952.



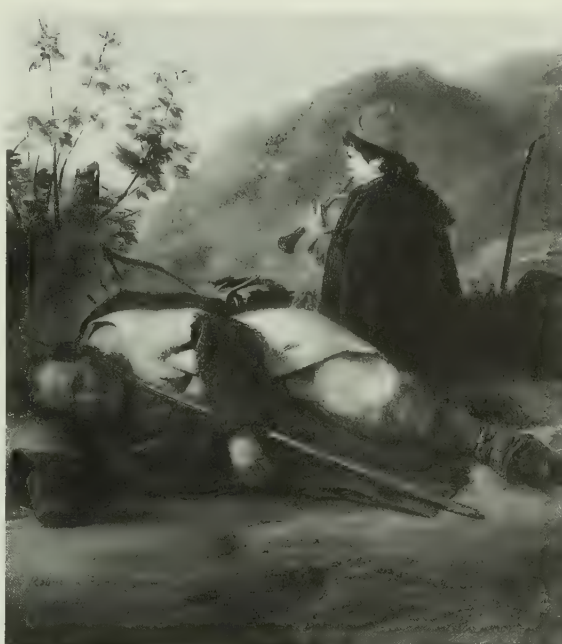
19. Pinelli, *Ballo di sposi ciociari*. – Photo: after Accrocca and Brosio 1971

As I have pointed out at various instances, there is a marked parallel between the topics and the mode in which they are presented in these sketches, on one hand, and the texts mentioning folk music, on the other. But at least as important, there is also a parallel between the hierarchy of subjects as acknowledged by writers (from informal letters at the bottom and elevated literary genres at the top) and the hierarchy established by the artists (with the informal sketch at the bottom and the large canvas at the top). The type of genre painting in which the human scene is lifted to a level so far exclusively reserved for landscape painting and vedute is as yet not welcome in the German canon.⁴⁷ The more we move upwards on the scale of “suitability” of subjects the rarer folkloristic motifs become and what is left of them tends to be transformed and idealized. Only from the 1830s onwards does the genre painting in oil with folk subjects increase markedly.

3) Léopold Robert and German genre paintings in Italy

Except for the very exceptional and unfinished painting *Gebirgslandschaft* by the young Fohr, the Germans do not consider the option of elevating the genre of folk music scenes to the oil medium and of searching for a painting style appropriate to the subject. It was a student of the French school of Louis David who freed the subject matter from its ties to the casual graphic genre: Léopold Robert (Gassier 1983; Seebass 1988), the son of a Swiss watchmaker from the Jura, who devoted almost a third of his canvasses to music and dance of the Italian *contadini*.

47 There is a sentence in a Koch-letter which seems to contradict this. On 6 May 1830, he writes to Josef Sutter: “Die Genremalerei ist jetzt obenan und die Platzlakaaien tragen den Preis davon, daß es ein Grausen ist, es anzusehen.” (Lutterotti 1940: 191). I believe that Koch has here not the art of his countrymen in mind, but paintings by Léopold Robert.



20. Hieronymus Hess, *I zampognari*. Basel, Kupferstichkabinett. – Photo: Museum

21. Léopold Robert, *Vieux pâtre des Apennins* [...]. Colombier, private collection. – Photo: after Gassier 1983

Born in the same decade as Fohr and living in Rome from 1818 onwards, and dying in Venice in 1835, Robert was a true promotor of this idea. For the more intimate scenes Robert initially chooses a relatively small format of around 45:35 cm: *fig. 21* measures: 47,5:36,5 cm. But, within a few years, they double in size (see *fig. 22*: 86:75 cm), and the largest reach dimensions of 150:200 cm (see *fig. 1*: 141,7:212 cm).

Unlike Fohr and certain French artists in Rome, Robert does not rely conceptually on traditional landscape painting of the eighteenth century; his style emerges from the aesthetic environment of Parisian atelier painting. It is always the human condition that is Robert's central concern and, in matters of style, he is a devotee of the accurate detail. Once he had finished a canvas, after many weeks of painstaking work, he did not hesitate to change from an artist into an artisan and copy it, to the last detail, for another client. His paintings of the *briganti*, very much inspired by Pinelli, spread almost like serial prints, as if he had attempted to imitate in art the semi-serial production of watchmaking. The influence of Pinelli is not a coincidence; the two knew each other well, shared the same folkloristic interests, and worked in the same locales (Gassier 1986, Fusco 1986, Seebass 1988: 65).

Robert's love for detail and accuracy pertains obviously not only to the naturalistic depiction of physical details and costumes, but to dance gestures and musical instruments as well. As we know from three paintings that his brother Aurèle made of his atelier, he probably owned the instruments he depicted on his canvasses (Seebass 1991). Robert's intense occupation with music has very deep roots and is based on an existential bond between the musicians and himself. He felt like one of them, coming from a lower class background and never losing sight of the connection between artists and artisans.



22. Robert, *Pifferari devant une Madone*. Vevey, Musée des Beaux-Arts. — Photo: E. E. Guignard, Vevey

As I have shown elsewhere (Seebass 1988: 76), it is not difficult to identify paintings such as the *Vieux pâtre des Appenins* (fig. 21)⁴⁸ or the *Pifferari* (fig. 22)⁴⁹ as visualizations of the idea of the musician as a seer and priestly mediator, formulated for the first time by Goethe in his *Wilhelm Meister*. It is, of course, also an idea dear to the Romantics, as described by Ludwig Tieck in *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* (1798). Sternbald meets an hermitic painter in Alsace and describes him as a favorite of God and mediator between God and man:

Wunderliche, fremde, unbekannte Lichter scheinen aus ihm heraus, und er läßt die zauberischen Strahlen durch die Kristalle der Kunst den übrigen Menschen entgegenspielen, damit sie nicht vor ihm erschrecken, sondern ihn auf ihre Weise verstehen und begreifen. Nun vollendet sich das Werk [...] und heimlich sind Blumen hineingewachsen, von denen der Künstler selber nicht weiß, die Gottes Finger hineinwirkte [...] und uns still den Künstler als einen Liebling Gottes verkündigen. [1964: 194–95]

Hence, in contrast to Koch, for Robert the Romantic discovery of ethnic characters is not purely aesthetic or social, but also has religious aspects. Robert's Arcadia is sacred, not secular. In sum, his work represents a unique mixture of elements of Classicism, Romanticism, and Realism. The heroic idealization and closeness to the mythical realm of Antiquity is Classical; the discovery of the individual character of a specific social group with its customs, its picturesque value, and metaphysical substance is Romantic; and the celebration of exact detail and the socio-political pathos with which the artist identifies with his subjects are realistic. Although the Germans could not and would not establish the same links to their art, Robert, by the sheer and highly acclaimed quality and abundance of his work, could promote a new interest in folk life and folk music as elevated genres. So much were Robert's Italians perceived as the children of their landscape, that, in the minds of generations, they became symbols for the landscape itself, regardless of the fact that the landscape is mostly invisible. Even in this century, Robert was honored for this symbolic quality by being included with two of his genre paintings in an exhibition in Naples, *Il paesaggio napoletano* (1962). Among the many vedute and landscapes from the late middle ages to the twentieth century, his canvasses are the only ones falling into the very different category of genre painting.

Neither Tischbein nor Fohr could provide the stimulus for an interest in popular culture, the former, because his aesthetic was too Anacreontic, and the latter because a single work was not sufficient to bring about change. But then, thanks to Robert the topic begins to come into its own.

This is the time to come back to Friedrich Wasmann, whose story of the genesis of his painting of the *pifferaro* we cited on pp. 158 f. Wasmann came to Italy in 1832, eight years after the death of Horny and three after Führich's return to the North, while Koch was still alive and Robert at the peak of his success. Obviously the decision to do a large scale genre painting of *Der Dudelsackpfeifer* (fig. 23)⁵⁰ is not only the result of a religious inspiration but also encouraged by the oeuvre of Robert.⁵¹ In fact, because of the religious content, the pure sentiment in the facial expressions of the young oboe player and the feeding mother, it emulates Robert's famous painting of the same subject (fig. 22) in a way no other picture of the *pifferari* does. Yet there is also an overtly allegorical bent with the various ages of mankind represented, which could hardly

48 *Vieux pâtre des Apennins endormi, près de lui un jeune garçon jouant du hautbois* (1822), oil on canvas, 47.5:36.5 cm. Colombier, private collection; Gassier 1983: no. 33.

49 *Pifferari devant une Madone* (1829), oil on canvas, 86:75 cm. Vevey, Musée des Beaux-Arts; Gassier 1983: no. 92.

50 *Der Dudelsackpfeifer* (1833), oil on oak wood, 62.7:53.9 cm. Hamburg, Kunsthalle, inv. no. 2681. (RiDiM). Nathan 1954: G 138; Krafft and Schumann 1969: no. 2681.

51 Only in the year preceding the journey to Italy had Wasmann tried his hand in this category (see Schlink 1972).



23. Friedrich Wasmann, *Der Dudelsackpfeifer*. Hamburg, Kunsthalle. – Photo: Elke Walford, Hamburg

be found in Robert's oeuvre. The unusual choice of the painter's position inside the building with all figures in the shade except for the small child, is perhaps not a completely satisfying solution, but, as a whole, the painting is convincing in technique and content and a powerful visualization of the ideas expressed in the artist's programmatic letter cited above. I have only found one other larger canvas with this subject matter, which is, however, outside of the scope of this article: it is a painting by the Scotsman David Wilkie, who was in Rome in the mid-twenties and knew

Robert.⁵² Wasmann never achieved this intensity again. Contrary to Fohr's fragmentary oeuvre, the singularity of *Der Dudelsackpfeifer* can be measured against a large output stretching over more than fifty years. Indeed, that it probably was a one-time hit, is proven by a canvas of a dance scene among peasants, *Tarantella* (fig. 24).⁵³ Here he returns to the idyllic *Biedermeier*. The theme is secular and nothing reminds us of the intensity of Robert's musicians or Wasmann's own *Pifferari*. Perhaps the two artists are comparable as to their ethnographic inclination, but there are three marked differences: a) the mood and casualness in Wasmann's canvasses owes more to examples by Tischbein, Ramberg, and the watercolors and sketches of more than one generation; b) his way of integrating people into the landscape resembles Koch more than Robert's does; and c) the physiognomies and the playful smiles all around are unthinkable in Robert's work; they are, in fact, not very Italian in the first place.

For the direction taken by German genre painting, one can cite many more examples. A number of paintings by August Lucas (1803–1863) could be mentioned (Franzke and Bott 1972), or paintings by August Riedel (1799–1883), such as his *Neapolitanische Fischerfamilie* (1834; fig. 25).⁵⁴ The similarity of this canvas to Robert's *Idylle à Ischia* of 1825 (fig. 26),⁵⁵ pertains mostly to the fact that Lucas, too, neglects the landscape in favor of the completely dominating group of two listeners and the musician. Robert's influence on Riedel is greater than on Wasmann, who is stylistically and iconographically more conservative. But in both examples (Riedel's and Wasmann's) the people remain superficial compared with Robert figures who are both *Gestalten* and *Gestaltungen*.⁵⁶

Both Robert and Fohr are protagonists whose message remains unheard. If, for the eighteenth century, Goethe, and Joseph Koch, Italy was the blissful Arcadia, and if for them the motto *Et in Arcadia Ego* meant that the author was the speaking ego and that he too had been blessed with a touch of Arcadia,⁵⁷ and if for the German painters after Fohr the Biedermeier aspect of

52 *Pifferari*, oil on canvas, 46:36,2 cm. London, Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II; cat. Raleigh 1987: 203–5; Millar 1969: I, 138–9. Wilkie's encounter with Robert is mentioned in Feuillet 1854: 138. This painting is noteworthy, because it demonstrates that Wilkie is not in the least bothered by the continental restrictions on genre painting. An English sense for reality which recalls Charles Burney's refreshingly open comments on Italian folk music, made sixty years earlier (1773) separates him from continental aesthetical conventions. In its ambition it can be compared to Robert, although lacking the latter's social engagement and pathos. Wilkie is an extraordinary figure also for another reason: he is the only one I have come across so far who actually describes a musical performance in some detail — probably because he could relate Italian bagpipe music to its Scottish relative: "Each party of pilgrims is accompanied by one whose duty it is to give music to the rest. This is a piper, or pifferaro, provided with an immense bagpipe, of a rich deep tone, the drones of which he has the power of modulating with notes by his fingers, while another man plays on a small reed, the melody or tune answering the purpose of the chanter. Their music is religious, and resembles in sound the Scotch bagpipe. In parading the streets they stop before the image of the Virgin, whom they serenade, as shepherds, at this season previous to Christmans, in imitation of the shepherds of old, who announced the birth of the Messiah." (Letter to his brother of 28 November 1825, Millar 1969: I, 138).

53 Oil on canvas, 86:115 cm. Gallery Mathias F. Hans 1989, reproduced in color in *Burlington Magazine*, May 1989: xvii. I am grateful to Edith Hassold, Duke University, for pointing out this painting to me.

54 (1834), oil on canvas, 173:215 cm. München, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek, inv. no. WAF 825. (RidIM).

55 *Idylle à Ischia*, or *Le marinier napolitain avec une jeune fille de l'île d'Ischia*, oil on canvas, 74:65 cm. La Chaux-de-Fonds, Musée des Beaux-Arts; Gassier 1983: no. 67.

56 The closest translation of this pair of terms would be "forms and formations", but, unlike English "to form/the form/formation", *gestalten/Gestalt/Gestaltung* have a more creative quality and combine form with content. — That both painters apparently are unaware of Fohr's world of ideas is probably not their fault. After his death, Fohr's *Gebirgslandschaft* was quickly shipped to the Princess of Hesse and his other oeuvre was sold in Rome at an auction sale.

57 It serves Goethe as a subtitle to his *Italienische Reise*.



24. Wasmann, *Tarantella*. Hamburg, Galerie Mathias F. Hans. –Photo: Galerie Hans



25. August Riedel, *Neapolitanische Fischerfamilie*. München, Neue Pinakothek. – Photo: Museum



26. Robert, *Idylle à Ischia*. La Chaux-de-Fonds, Musée des Beaux-Arts. – Photo: Museum

Romanticism is the determinant factor, for Fohr the motto has a wider and more profound dimension: on one hand, he seems to underwrite with his painting the original meaning established in the seventeenth century: Death himself is speaking to the shepherds and musicians; he does not spare the children of Arcadia, and they are doomed to disappear. On the other hand, Fohr is equally aware of the new interpretation of the motto. The idea that the speaker is the artist seems also to be evident in the painting — but with an ironic inversion. Indeed, Fohr saw Arcadia: not as the blissful land, though, but as the place where he found his death. Robert's vision of Arcadia is tragic too, but for him the conflict has a stronger social component and a more existential dimension. And it is realized in much more than one (unfinished) visionary painting: in a long series of consciously planned and meticulously executed pictures with this subject and in the statement of his suicide. The German contemporaries, however, are oblivious or ignorant of Fohr's conception and absorb of Robert's art only the surface of the style. Under their hands the theme turns *biedermeierisch* and ultimately into a cul-de-sac. Thus the Italian land falls silent again. From today's perspective, it seems ironic that in 1828 the French critic Delécluze celebrated Robert as a new Theocritus⁵⁸ — an epithet which Robert must have loathed, if he ever heard it. It would have much better fitted the Germans of his generation.

58 In the *Journal des Débuts*, 7 January 1828, see Gassier 1983: 190.

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Neugriechischer Tanz und Musik aus europäischer Sicht*

Alexandra Goulaki-Voutira

I. ABBILDUNGEN GRIECHISCHER VOLKSTÄNZE UND VOLKSMUSIK IN EUROPÄISCHEN REISEBERICHTEN

In der Reiseliteratur des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts findet man viele Illustrationen, die den Alltag der Neugriechen abbilden, wozu natürlich oft Musik und Tanz gehören. In diesen Bildern spiegeln sich die eigenartigen Beziehungen Westeuropas zu Griechenland.

Im 18. Jahrhundert beobachtet man eine Zunahme des Interesses der Europäer für den vorderen Orient. Wichtige Gründe für die Reisen nach dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum waren der Handel, die Religion, die Politik, die Archäologie, die oft mit der Suche und der Mitnahme von Antiquitäten verbunden war, sowie die Sehnsucht nach exotischen und ursprünglichen Erlebnissen.

Folge dieser entfernten und abenteuerlichen Wanderungen waren oft Reisebeschreibungen, die von Dilettanten in belletristischem Stil geschrieben wurden und in Folio mit Landschaftsveduten, Plänen, architektonischen Aufnahmen antiker Monumente von Künstlern und Spezialisten illustriert erschienen.¹

Um eine bestimmte ethnographische Einzelheit in diesen Texten zu verstehen und zu werten, muß man viele verschiedene Faktoren berücksichtigen: Wann und unter welchen Bedingungen hat der Reisende einen bestimmten Raum besucht? Aus welchem Land war er gekommen (die Einstellung der Europäer gegenüber der griechischen Bevölkerung war von Fall zu Fall verschieden)? Welches war die politische Verbindung seiner Heimat zu dem Osmanischen Reich? Die Reisegefahren, das kaum erträgliche Essen, die Menschen, mit denen die Verständigung in einer Fremdsprache schwierig war, die Religionsunterschiede, verschiedene politische Einstellungen und andere unerwartete, Enttäuschung bringende Schwierigkeiten führten zu unterschiedlichen Urteilen und Auswertungen.² Außerdem muß man sich vor Augen halten, daß sich ein Reisebericht an ein breiteres Publikum wendet. Die Bearbeitung der Notizen, die während der Reise entstanden,

* Der vorliegende Aufsatz stellt eine gekürzte und revidierte Fassung meines auf griechisch erschienen Buchs (1990) dar; eine mündliche Fassung wurde an der Zweiten Tagung der ICTM Study Group for Musical Iconography in Orta San Giulio im Mai 1988 vorgetragen. Das Material dazu stammt aus den Beständen der Reiseliteratur in der Gennadeios Bibliothek und in der Bibliothek des Benaki Museums in Athen. Die den Abbildungen zugrunde liegenden Aufnahmen sind mit Genehmigung des Benaki Museums sowie der Gennadeios Bibliothek angefertigt worden. Für Hilfe und Auskünfte bin ich Frau Dr. Fani-Maria Tsigaku (Konservatorin des Kupferstichkabinetts des Benaki Museums) zu Dank verpflichtet. Für nützliche Hinweise und Diskussion danke ich Phoibos Anoyanakis, Prof. Luigi Beschi, Katerina Spetsieri Beschi und Prof. Demetrios Themelis. Ganz besonderen Dank schulde ich Prof. Tilman Seebass für wertvolle Hinweise und die sprachliche Verbesserung des ursprüngliche Textes.

1 Allgemein über die Reiseliteratur siehe: Droulia et al. 1968; Simopoulos 1970–5; Topos kai Eikona 1978–85; Tsigakou 1981; Constantine 1984: 1–6; Hamdorf 1986: 146–54 und 247–63 (ausführliche Literaturangaben ebenda: 196–9). Es gibt etwa 75 Veröffentlichungen von Reiseliteratur, die sich auf Griechenland und den vorderen Orient beziehen, in der Zeit von 1700 bis 1749; von 1750 bis 1799 sind es 115 und von 1804 bis 1853 450; darüber siehe: Savvidis 1968: 91, 97 und 99. Diese Zahlen stammen aus zwei Katalogen in der Gennadeios Bibliothek zu Athen: Weber 1952 und 1953.

2 Ausführlicher über diese Probleme siehe Dimaras 1968: 145–52 und Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 5–18; III, 7–21.

dauerte oft mehr als ein Jahrzehnt; denn in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. und am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts waren die Veröffentlichungen der Reiseliteratur aufwendige Foliowerke, die in Größe, Qualität, Dokumentation und prachtvollem Luxus miteinander wetteiferten. Die Veröffentlichung solcher monumentalen Bänder dauerte also lange.³ Druckverspätungen, für die einmal der Charakter des Werkes, einmal die persönlichen Abenteuer des Reisenden die Schuld trugen, führten oft zu Umstellungen, Inkonssequenzen und Widersprüchen im Text.⁴

Ähnliche Probleme gelten für die Illustrationen und ihr Verhältnis zum Text (siehe Kouria 1987: 74–82 mit Literatur). Der Schriftsteller einer Chronik war nicht immer selber der Illustrator. Man muß also jeweils nachprüfen, von wem die Abbildungen stammten und ob sie während der Reise nach der Natur gezeichnet, oder ob sie später nach Vorbildern anderer entsprechenden Publikationen angefertigt wurden. Dabei entdeckt man mit Staunen, wie wenig man sich in dieser Epoche um das Copyright kümmerte; viele *après nature* Zeichnungen sind Kopien oder Varianten älterer Vorbilder, oder kombinieren verschiedene Stereotypen.⁵ Am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts herrschten überall die Radierungen, die nach den Zeichnungen von Van Mour für den französischen Konsul in Konstantinopel Graf de Ferriol gemacht wurden. Le Hay veröffentlichte im Jahr 1712–3 in Paris zum ersten Mal hundert Tafeln nach Zeichnungen von Van Mour, die Trachten und Gebräuche des Orients abbildeten. Es folgten sofort eine zweite und dritte Auflage des Werkes.⁶ Die Mode von Van Mour verlor erst an Geltung, als die großen illustrierten Werke von Choiseul-Gouffier, Muradja d'Ohsson und Melling (am Ende des 18. und Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts) erschienen.⁷ Alle diese Eigentümlichkeiten der Abbildungen der Reiseliteratur bedeuten, daß Einzelheiten der Darstellungen mit Vorsicht zur Rekonstruktion der Wirklichkeit zu benutzen sind. Trotzdem sind diese Veröffentlichungen ein reiches und wertvolles Korpus von Abbildungen, die die Griechen ihrer Zeit darstellen, wie sie durch europäische Augen gesehen wurden.

Es ist eine lange Geschichte, wie die Neugriechen als Nachfolger der Altgriechen von den Europäern anerkannt wurden. Seit dem Erwachen des nationalen Denkens in Europa wird der Freiheitskampf der Neugriechen in einem neuen, romantischen Licht gesehen.⁸ Man findet neben den archäologischen Beschreibungen und Bemerkungen allmählich Gegenüberstellungen antiker und moderner griechischer Sitten und Gewohnheiten. Das zunehmende Interesse für die Nachfolger der Altgriechen bereitet den Philhellenismus vor, eine romantische Bewegung, die die Wiedergeburt Griechenlands unterstützt und viele Europäer nach Griechenland zu reisen veranlaßt.⁹ Als Vertreter einer positiven Betrachtung der Neugriechen kann man den französischen Kaufmann und Gelehrten Pierre Augustin Guys anführen, als negatives Beispiel Jacob Ludwig

3 Der französische Kaufmann und Gelehrte Pierre Augustin Guys z.B. bereiste Griechenland seit dem Jahr 1748. Die Erstausgabe seines Werks ist erst im Jahr 1771 erschienen. *Compte de Choiseul-Gouffier* kam zum ersten Mal nach Griechenland im Jahr 1769. Der erste Band seiner Chronik erschien im Jahr 1782, der zweite im Jahr 1808 und der dritte im Jahr 1822. Siehe Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 14–5 mit Fußnote 2 und Seite 16; III'1, 9 und 13; Constantine 1984: xii.

4 Die erfolgreiche Verbreitung solcher Erscheinungen trieb manche Verleger an, erdichtete Texte und Reisebeschreibungen zu publizieren. Der Text solcher Werke beschrieb fiktive Ereignisse und lebte von aus anderen Büchern geplünderten Zitaten: Simopoulos 1970–5: III'1, 13.

5 Über die Stereotypen siehe Gombrich 1960: 66–90, besonders 80.

6 Le Hay und Ferriol erschien zuerst 1712–3. Im Jahr 1714 folgte die zweite und im Jahr 1715 die dritte Ausgabe. Dazu siehe *Topos kai Eikona* II (1979): 61–77, besonders 63–4; Finopoulos 1988: 49 mit Fußnoten 6–8.

7 Diese Werke sind unten unter den Primärquellen aufgeführt. Vgl. auch *Topos kai Eikona* II (1979): 64.

8 Dimaras 1968: 148–50; Tsigakou 1981: 46–62. Ausführlich über das Erwachen des "nationalen Denkens" in Europa schreibt Politis 1984: 26–31, 36–40, 41–62 und passim.

9 Über den Philhellenismus siehe Savvidis 1968: 99 und Dimaras 1968: 149–50; Droulia 1974; Tsigakou 1981: 8, 46–62, 109 und passim; Politis 1984: 63–7 und passim; *Rom* 1986, mit ausführlicher Literatur.

Salomon Bartholdy.¹⁰ In diesem romantischen Klima erscheint auch die Erkundung nationaler Volkskunst und Volksmusik. Aus dem 18. Jahrhundert sind nur spärliche Aufzeichnungen von Texten griechischer Volkslieder erhalten; noch seltener sind musikalische Transkriptionen.¹¹ Systematische Sammlungen sind erst am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts entstanden (Fauriel u. a.).¹²

Obwohl die literarischen, musikalischen und bildlichen Quellen zur griechischen Volksmusik im Zusammenhang mit wachsendem ethnographischem Interesse stehen, stellt man eine gewisse Diskrepanz zwischen Wort und Bild fest. Bei den Abbildungen ist das Thema Musik als eine malerische, oft reizvolle Ansicht des täglichen Lebens zu verstehen, während die Erläuterungen und Äußerungen über die Musik, wenn nicht negativ, so doch höchstens neutral klingen.¹³ Neben den enthusiastischen Bemerkungen von Guys (1783: 274–84), die mehr anekdotischen Charakter haben, und der Begeisterung von Castellan (1820: I. 74–5, 150–2), bleibt Stackelberg der einzige, der sich um eine korrekte Beschreibung der Wirklichkeit bemüht und zwischen griechischer und westeuropäischer Ästhetik unterscheidet. Er bemerkt, daß ein griechisches „bloß für die Melodie berechnetes, und von Harmonie völlig unabhängiges, tonreicheres System, dem Gehör des ungewohnten Europäer widrig, oft unrein erscheint“ (Stackelberg 1826: 20–1 und idem 1831: 11).

Dagegen sind die Äußerungen über die griechischen Volkstänze meist positiv; vielleicht, weil man öfters einen engeren Bezug zu den antiken Tänzen zu erkennen glaubt.¹⁴

Bildliche Darstellungen von griechischer Volksmusik und Tanz sind sehr zahlreich. Ich habe sie in drei Kategorien unterteilt und werde hier nur wenige Beispiele aus jeder Kategorie vorstellen.

1. Bilder, in denen die Musikszene ein Nebenthema ist.
2. Bilder, in denen Musik und Tanz ein organischer Teil der Gesamtszene sind (z. B. in Hochzeitsszenen, Volksfesten u. a.).
3. Bilder, in denen Musik und Tanz das Hauptthema liefern.

1. Musik als Nebenthema

Abbildung 1: Aus dem Werk von Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* stammt die Darstellung mit dem Titel „Dames de l'île de Tine“.¹⁵ Wir sehen eine Alltagsszene mit zwei sitzenden Frauen im Inneren eines Hauses. Auf dem Sofa neben der Frau rechts liegt eine Katze

10 Siehe Frangiskos 1968: 49–66, besonders 53–5; Politis 1984: 64. Vgl. Bartholdy 1807.

11 Anoyanakis 1976: 42. Ausführlicher über die musikalischen Transkriptionen Themelis 1984: 53–84. Den dort verzeichneten Transkriptionen kann man noch folgende hinzufügen: Guys 1783: 70–1 und 282, 284 (zwei Lieder); Jones 1804: 1–9 (Transkriptionen griechischer Musik); Hobhouse 1813: II (die letzten zwei, unnummerierten Seiten, enthalten Beispiele griechischer Musik, die bei Gironi 1824: III. 883 wiederholt sind); Williams 1820: II. 369 (vier griechische Melodien); Bory de Saint Vincent 1836–8: II. 240–1 (*La Roumeka*).

12 Anoyanakis 1976: 42; Politis 1984: 63–197, 201–85 und passim.

13 Negative Äußerungen über die griechische Volksmusik findet man bei: Riedesel 1773: 227; Dodwell 1819: II. 15–6; Laurent 1821: 98; Clarke 1810–23: IV. 98–9; Gironi 1824: III. 886; Frankland 1829: I. 163; Bory de Saint Vincent 1838: I. 360, 364, 441–3; Blouet 1838: III. 61; Mac Bean 1854: Text zu Tafel XIX; Schweiger-Lerchenfeld 1882: 181. Über die negative Haltung der Ausländer gegenüber griechischer Musik siehe Papadopoulos/Karakatsani 1971: 11 mit Fußnote 40. Die folgenden Reisenden äußern sich neutral über die griechische Volksmusik: La Motraye 1723: I. 301; Stuart/Revett 1762–1814: III. Kapitel VII. Text zu Tf. I; Eton 1805: I. 447; Mouradja d'Ohsson 1787–1820: II. 234; Williams 1820: II. 225; Dupré 1825: 51; Ukert 1833: 160, 164–6, 184 und 191.

14 Papadopoulos/Karakatsani 1971: 11 mit Fußnote 39; Politis 1984: 68 und 123.

15 Diese Darstellung ist in viele spätere Ausgaben aufgenommen worden; siehe Anoyanakis 1976: Abb. 94. Graf Choiseul-Gouffier (1752–1817) besuchte Griechenland zum ersten Mal im Jahr 1776. Zwanzig Jahre später wurde er als französischer Konsul nach Konstantinopel gesandt, wo er bis 1793 geblieben ist. Über ihn siehe Vouraselli 1939: 113 und 191–3; Droulia et al. 1968: 46–8; Simopoulos 1970–5: II. 356–87 und passim; Tsakiri 1979: 45–63. Nr. 198; Tsigakou 1981: 43, 50, 195a und 201c; Constantine 1984: 173–82.



1. Choiseul-Gouffier 1782–1822: I, Tf. 25: *Dames de l'île de Tine*. Zeichnung [Z]: Jean Baptiste Hilaire; Stich [S]: J. Gonbaud. – Photo: Autor

2. *Dame de Tine en Grèce, avec sa servante*. Z: J. G. St. Sauveur; Lithographie [L]: Mixelle j^e. Benaki Museum, Nr. 27630. – Photo: Autor

und ein Tambouras (lautenartiges Instrument), der zum Dekor des Zimmers gehört. Im Text ist Musik nicht erwähnt.¹⁶

Abbildung 2: Im Museum Benaki zu Athen befindet sich eine Radierung von 1804 mit dem Titel „*Dame de Tine en Grèce avec sa Servante*“.¹⁷ Es ist nicht schwierig zu sehen, daß diese Darstellung von der vorigen abhängt. Die sitzende Frau ist typologisch identisch mit der Frau mit der Katze in der vorigen Abbildung. Der Unterschied besteht in der spiegelverkehrten Anordnung im Bild. Die stehende Frau rechts trägt dieselbe Tracht wie die Dame bei Choiseul-Gouffier, nur ist sie hier stehend dargestellt. Der Künstler hat auch hier das Instrument nicht vergessen. Er hat es aber vorne auf dem Boden gelegt und ihm eine kostbare Ausstattung mitgegeben.

Die Darstellung der Brücke des Ilissus bei Stadion in Athen (Abb. 3) stammt aus dem Werk von Stuart und Revett *The Antiquities of Athens*.¹⁸ Im Vordergrund erkennt man eine malerische, idyllische Hirtenszene. Zwei Männer spielen Zournas und Lyra „um die Frauen zu empfangen“. Die Szene ist im Text ganz kurz beschrieben, ohne jegliche Auswertung über die gespielte Musik.¹⁹ Der Stich ist ein Beispiel für die zahlreichen historisch-archäologischen Landschaften,

16 Im Kommentar zur Darstellung wird erwähnt, daß die Frauen vor den offenen Türen der Häuser arbeiteten „pendant que leur vieille mère leur fait des contes souvent interrompues par les chansons des jeunes filles.“ Man kann also vermuten, daß das Instrument auf das Singen der Mädchen hinweist.

17 Museum Benaki Nr. 27630 (Φ11). Die Unterschriften sind J. Q. St. Sauveur del., Mixelle Je sculp. Über Jacques Grasset de Saint Sauveur siehe *Topos kai Eikona*, 18. aionas II, 1979: 237–48.

18 Stuart/Revett 1762–1814: III, Kapitel VII. Tf. I. Über James Stuart (1713–1788) und Nicholas Revett (1720–1804), die in Athen von 1751 bis 1753 gearbeitet hatten, siehe Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 276–9, 283, 494 und III 2, 315; Schiounas 1979: 31–44, Nr. 183; Tsigakou 1981: 19, 21, 32 und 194a.

19 Die Instrumente sind als „flagelet“ und „guitar“ bezeichnet!



3. Stuart-Revett 1762–1814: III, Kap. VII, Tf. I: *Bridge over the Ilissus and Stadium*. Z: J. Stuart; S: D. Lerpinière. – Photo: Autor



4. Dodwell 1821: *Interior of the Temple*. Z: Ed. Dodwell, S: F. C. Lewis. – Photo: Autor

die mit zeitgenössischen Griechen belebt werden. Menschen und Musik sollen die Kluft zwischen idealisierter Vorstellung des Altertums und Wirklichkeit überbrücken.

Abbildung 4: In dem Album *Views in Greece* (1821) des englischen Architekten Edward Dodwell ist das Innere des Aphaia Tempels auf der Insel Aigina abgebildet.²⁰ Der moderne griechische Fustanellträger, der zwischen den antiken Ruinen steht, wird im Text als "Schäfer mit der Lyra" ganz kurz erwähnt. Philhellenismus schlägt hier eine Brücke von der idealen Welt des Klassizismus zur romantischen Begeisterung für den heroischen griechischen Freiheitskampf.

²⁰ Über Dodwell siehe Simopoulos 1970–5: III¹, 144–79, 256–62 und passim; Tsigakou 1981: 26, 28, 43, 85, 105, 110, 199a, 200a und passim; Dodwell 1982: 46–7; Vlachos 1983: 17–27 und 29–93, besonders 38; Politis 1984: 122.

Dieselbe Auffassung spiegelt sich im Akropolisbild (Abb. 52) aus Williams, *Select Views in Greece* (1829) wider.²¹ Vor dem Akropolis Hügel hat Williams einen Männer-Reigentanz dargestellt (mehr darüber unten im Teil II).

2. Musik als organischer Teil einer Gesamtszene

Es handelt sich hier nicht mehr um ideale archäologische Landschaften, sondern meist um Genrebilder.

Allein dem neugriechischen Alltag gewidmet ist der "Bazar of Athens" aus Doldwells *Views in Greece* (1821) (Abb. 5). In diesem Genrebild ist das Gesehene minutiös festgehalten und hat geradezu den Charakter einer Bildreportage (Sinn 1982: 34–5, 92). Eine malerische Einzelheit betont das Ambiente der Szene: es ist der sitzende Mann rechts im Mittelgrund, der einen Tambouras spielt. Diese Figur stammt aus dem Skizzenbuch des italienischen Malers Simone Pomardi, der viele Skizzen und Zeichnungen für Dodwell angefertigt hat; Pomardi notierte neben der Skizze: "A Delfo. Castri. Uomo che suona il tambouràs".²²

Abbildung 6: In einer ähnlichen Szene, im "Bazar von Korinth" aus Stackelbergs *Trachten und Gebräuche* (1831) sieht man einen "Medass, oder Erzähler, d. h. einen blinden Greis, von einem die Laute (Tambouras) spielenden Knaben geleitet."²³ Es handelt sich um eine jener Bettlerfiguren, die, wie oft von Reisenden erwähnt wird, als Rapsoden für wenig Geld heroische Lieder mit Heldentaten der Neugriechen gegen die Türken singen.²⁴ Die Texterläuterung entspricht dem Bildinhalt.

Aus demselben Werk Stackelbergs stammt die Abbildung 7 "Das Todenfest in Athen" (am Fest der Allerseelen). Ein Priester hält ein zeremonielles Gefäß mit Weihrauch, das Thymiaterion, das mit kleinen Glöckchen versehen, einen charakteristischen Klang während der Prozession produziert. Nach dem Kommentar der Darstellung singen "alle Priester mit klangvoll schöner Stimme den Ambrosianischen Lobgesang".²⁵

Musik war in Griechenland immer eng mit Hochzeit verbunden. Am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts hat Aubrey de la Motraye in seinem Reisewerk das Bild einer Hochzeitsszene publiziert, das Elemente aus verschiedenen Nationalitäten und Sitten zusammenstellt (Abb. 8).²⁶ Es ist ein *Pasticcio*, eine Kontamination aus verschiedenen Motiven, die aus der Publikation von

21 Siehe die zweite Auflage von Williams 1829: II, Tf. 36 mit dem Titel "Acropolis of Athens, taken from Pnyx or ancient Forum". Über Williams siehe Simopoulos 1970–5: III'2, 444–52 und passim; Tsigakou 1981: 23, 30, 108, 116–7, 122, 123, 128, 177 und 200b; Vlachos 1983: 161–221.

22 Katerina Spetsieri Beschi in *Rom* 1986: 217; sie hat das Skizzenbuch von Simone Pomardi in Benaki Museum entdeckt und gezeigt, daß einige Veduten sowie Figuren im Werk von Dodwell, *Views in Greece* aus Pomardis Skizzenbuch kopiert sind; z.B. zwei Figuren auf dieser Tafel, die wiederum Skizzen von Pomardi wiedergeben (op. cit. 216). Siehe auch Goulaki-Voutira 1990: 46–9, Abb. 26–7.

23 Der Text stammt aus der späteren Ausgabe der 2. Abteilung des Werkes *Trachten und Gebräuche* mit dem Titel *Bilder aus dem Leben der Neugriechen*, Dresden, o. J., hrsg. von N. v. St[ackelberg]; siehe Stackelberg 1882: 399. Über Otto Magnus von Stackelberg siehe Rodenwaldt (o. J.); Simopoulos 1970–5: III'1, 149–50, 374, 408; III'2, 41, 132, 139, 166, 511; Tsigakou 1981: 22, 103, 115, 156, 160, 164 und 200a. Dodwell 1982: 79; Politis 1984: 123; Hering 1985: 75–106, besonders 188.

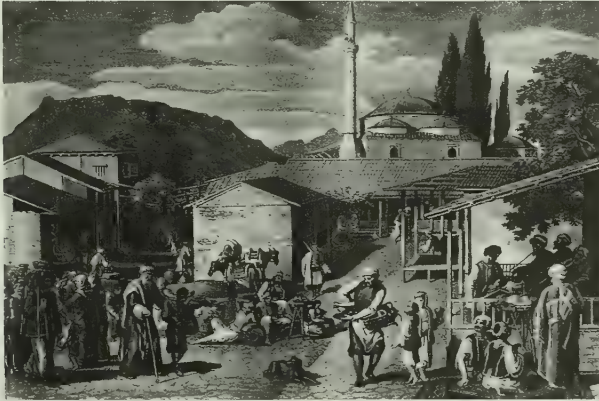
24 Über die Rapsoden siehe Castellán 1820: III, 74 Tf. XIII; Melling 1819: Text zu Tf. 4 auf S. 40–1; Quinet 1830: 138; Bory de Saint Vincent 1836–38: I, 257. Siehe auch Simopoulos 1970–5: III'1, 33, 82–3.

25 Der Text zu dieser Tafel VIII stammt aus der späteren Auflage mit dem Titel *Bilder aus dem Leben der Neugriechen* (siehe oben Fußnote 23).

26 La Motraye 1723: I, 159, 183, 276, 301, Tf. XIX. Über Aubry de la Motraye, der in der Jahren 1706, 1707 und 1710 in Griechenland war, siehe Vouraselli 1939: 213–17, Abb. 26; Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 30, 42, 56 und 58.



5. Dodwell 1821: *Bazar of Athens*. Z: Ed. Dodwell, S: T. Fielding. – Photo: Autor



6. Stackelberg 1831: II, Tf. VII: *Bazar von Korinth*. Z: Stackelberg; L: C. F. Gille. – Photo: Autor



7. Stackelberg 1831: II, Tf. VIII: *Das Todenfest in Athen*. Z: Stackelberg; L: C. F. Gille. – Photo: Autor



8. La Motraye 1723: I, Tf. XIX: *An Armenian marriage*. S: Dockley. – Photo: Autor

Le Hay und Ferriol *Hundert Tafeln* stammen (siehe Abb. 9–14), die einige Jahren zuvor erschienen war (1712–3); damit versucht der Illustrator dem Text gerecht zu werden, der eine armenische Hochzeit beschreibt, die sehr ähnlich wie eine griechische sein sollte, wo viele Leute aus verschiedenen Gebieten teilnehmen.

Links (Nr. 10 in der mitgedruckten Bildnumerierung) ist ein griechischer Seemann aus dem Inselarchipel, der einen Tambouras spielt (vgl. *Abb. 9*). Neben ihm (Nr. 9) steht ein Bulgare, der eine Sackpfeife (Tsabouna) spielt (vgl. *Abb. 10*). Nr. 11 ist die mit Schleier bedeckte armenische Braut, die zur Hochzeit geführt wird (vgl. *Abb. 11*). Alle Tänzer geben hier spiegelverkehrt die Typen von Ferriol wieder: Nr. 8 ist die Frau aus Naxos (vgl. *Abb. 12*), Nr. 6 ist ein Mädchen aus Walachia, Nr. 4 eine Griechin aus Konstantinopel, Nr. 1 eine griechische Braut nach der Hochzeit (vgl. *Abb. 13*); zufolge Ferriols Kommentar bleibt sie sitzen, schweigend, ohne zu essen, zu trinken oder zu tanzen — eine bei den Griechen und Armeniern gemeinsame Gewohnheit. Nach Motraye unterscheidet sich die griechische Braut von der armenischen dadurch, daß sie unverschleiert mit freiem Gesicht zur Kirche geht. Der Bräutigam (Nr. 2) entspricht auch dem Typus von Ferriol (vgl. *Abb. 14*). Er ist, wie die Braut, zweimal abgebildet: einmal neben der sitzenden Frau und einmal als letzter Tänzer.²⁷

27 Bei Le Hay und Ferriol sind diese Figuren auf den folgenden Tafeln abgebildet: Nr. 10 (griechischer Seemann) Tf. 70 (siehe auch Anoyanakis 1976: Abb. 188); Nr. 9 (Bulgare) Tf. 82; Nr. 11 (armenische Braut) Tf. 87; Nr. 8 (Frau aus Naxos) Tf. 71; Nr. 6 (Mädchen aus Walachia) Tf. 81; Nr. 4 (Griechin aus Konstantinopel) Tf. 68; Nr. 1 (sitzende Braut) Tf. 69; Nr. 2 (Bräutigam) Tf. 86; Nr. 7 und 5 Tf. 88. Die Kupferstiche bei Ferriol sind nach Zeichnungen von Van Mour angefertigt, der viele Jahre in Konstantinopel lebte. Über Van Mour (1671–1737) siehe Thieme-Becker 25: 202; *Topos kai Eikona* II, 1979: 63–6.



9. Le Hay und Ferriol 1715: Tf. 70: *Grec des Isles de l'Archipel jouant du tamboura*. Z: Van Mour; S: G. Scotin maj. – Photo: Autor

10. Le Hay und Ferriol 1715: Tf. 82: *Bulgare*. Z: Van Mour; S: J. De Franssières. – Photo: Autor



11. Le Hay und Ferriol 1715: Tf. 87: *Fille armenienne que l'on conduit à l'église pour la marier*. Z: Van Mour; S: J. Haussard. – Photo: Autor

12. Le Hay und Ferriol 1715: Tf. 71: *Fille de Naxis*. Z: Van Mour; S: G. Scotin maj. – Photo: Autor



13. Le Hay und Ferriol 1715: Tf. 69: *Fille grèque dans la ceremonie du Mariage*. Z: Van Mour; S: G. Scotin maj. – Photo: Autor

14. Le Hay und Ferriol 1715: Tf. 86: *Armenien qui va à l'église pour se marier*. Z: Van Mour; S: J. Haussard. – Photo: Autor

Eine Hochzeitsszene (Abb. 15) ist auch im Reisebuch von Guys dargestellt.²⁸ Zuerst kommen die Musikanten,²⁹ dann die Tänzer, und es folgt die Braut, die von den Verwandten zur Hochzeit geführt wird. Guys bemerkt im Text, daß die Neugriechen zum größten Teil das antike Zeremoniell der Hochzeit erhalten haben; damit meint er die Prozession (πομπή), in welcher die Musiker und die Epithalamien singenden Sänger vorausgehen. Die Abbildung von Guys schmückt auch das Buch von William Eton, der mit ganz ähnlichen Worten wie Guys — jedoch ohne ihn zu zitieren — die Hochzeitsszene beschreibt.³⁰

Eine Darstellung des Hochzeitsaufzugs findet man im Werk von Cochrane's *Wanderings in Greece* (1837) (Abb. 16). Die Musikanten vorne gehen im tänzerischen Schritt;³¹ dann kommt der Bräutigam und sein männliches Gefolge, und es folgt die Braut mit den Brautjungfern. Im Hintergrund weisen die antiken Ruinen auf das klassische, "ideale" Griechenland hin.

Bei Volksfesten herrscht überall Tanz und Musik. Solche Feste mit Reigentänzen sind oft in Reisebüchern abgebildet, weil die Künstler von den reichen Farben und Bewegungskontrasten der Szenerie beeindruckt waren.

28 Guys 1783: I, 122. Die erste Ausgabe ist im Jahr 1771, die zweite 1776 erschienen. Hier ist die dritte erweiterte von 1783 zitiert. Über Guys siehe Vouraselli 1939: 210–1; Imellos 1960–1: 220, 222–4; Anastasiadou 1972: 131–41; Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 229–58, 266, 778; *Topos kai Eikona* II, 1979: 211–8 besonders 216; Tsigakou 1981: 42, 43, 188b und 195a; Politis 1984: 60, 64, 65, 69 mit Fußnote 16; Constantine 1984: 147–67.

29 Sie spielen ein Tambour (Trommel) und zwei Zournades (Doppelrohrblattinstrumente).

30 Eton 1803: I, 447, Tf. IV. Das Werk erschien zum ersten Mal im Jahr 1798 auf Englisch, ohne Abbildungen. Siehe Anoyanakis 1976: Abb. 175; Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 172, 326, 371, 782–6.

31 Sie spielen einen Tambouras und eine Fiedel — nach Cochrane eine "lyra-guitar" 1837: I, 279. Über Cochrane siehe Tsigakou 1981: 41, 146, 149 und 151.



15. Guys 1783: I, 122: *Noce champêtre*. Z: David Massil; S: Laurent. – Photo: Autor

16. Cochrane 1837: I, 279: *Greek marriage procession*. Z: G. Cochrane; L: A. Picken. – Photo: Autor



17. Dodwell 1830: Frontispiz: *Festival at Athens*, kolorierte Aquatinta. Z: Dodwell. – Photo: Autor

Ein solches Fest beim Athener Theseion hat Dodwell in einem Bild festgehalten (Abb. 17), das er seinem Foliowerk, *Views in Greece* (1830²), ohne Erläuterung als Frontispiz voranstellte.³² Türken, Griechen, Albaner und Neger bilden eine lustige und bunte Masse von Trachten und Farben. Nach Aussage eines anderen Reisenden “feiert das athenische Volk seine Feste und tanzt seine modernen Tänze zu moderner Musik im Angesicht der Akropolis” (Schweiger-Lerchenfeld 1882: 17–8). Man erkennt deutlich die Musikanten, die zwei Zournades und zwei Tambouras spielen.

³² Siehe Sinn 1982: 10, 11, 83 und 84. Über Dodwell siehe oben Fußnote 20. Dodwell hat auch hier Skizzen von Pomardi benutzt; er hat in Pomardis Skizzenbuch unter das Bild dreier Tänzer notiert: “Albanian, Greeks dancing at the Temple of Theseus.” Siehe Katerina Spetsieri Beschi in *Rom* 1986: 216; Goulaki-Voutira 1990: 70–3, Abb. 44–5.

3. Die Musik- und Tanzszene als Hauptthema der Darstellung

Schon bei der Darstellung von Volksfesten rückt der Tanz oft in den Mittelpunkt der Darstellung. Griechische Tänze waren aber überhaupt — auch vor der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts — ein beliebiges Thema für die Illustrierung der Reiseberichte.³³

In der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts hat der französische Kaufmann, Arzt und Gelehrte Pierre Augustin Guys ein großes Kapitel in seiner *Voyage littéraire de la Grèce* (1771, Kapitel XIII), den griechischen Tänzen gewidmet. In der dritten Ausgabe des Werkes von 1783 hat er Ergänzungen zu diesem Kapitel von Mme Chénier in Form eines Briefes hinzugefügt.³⁴ Guys unterscheidet sechs griechische Tänze: den kandiotischen (aus Kreta), den griechischen, der dem kandiotischen ganz ähnlich sei, den arnaoutischen (albanesischen), den wallachischen, die Pyrriche (einen Waffentanz) und die ionischen Tänze (Tänze auf dem Lande). Er glaubt, daß alle neugriechischen Tänze von den Tänzen der Antike herkommen, die zum öffentlichen Kultus gehörten. Dieser Versuch, die neugriechischen Tänze mit den entsprechenden der Antike zu identifizieren, hat einen großen Anklang bei den nachherigen Reisenden gefunden; sie wiederholen, zitieren oder variieren die Ideen von Guys (ohne ihn immer zu zitieren). Sein Buch galt als der wichtigste Führer für die späteren Reisenden nach Griechenland — in solchem Ausmaß, daß diese sich meist verpflichtet fühlten, die wichtigsten Tänze auf ähnliche Weise wie Guys zu beschreiben und auch oft abzubilden.³⁵

Der kandiotische Tanz (Tanz aus Kreta), der, wie gesagt dem griechischen ähnlich sein soll, findet sich in einem kolorierten Stich von Gallo Gallina für das Buch von Robustiano Gironi, *Costume dei Greci* (Abb. 18).³⁶ Hier tanzen Frauen und Männer zur Begleitung von Tambouras, Sackpfeife, Zournas und Tambour. Der Tempel und die Bäume im Hintergrund sind aus einem Stich des Reisewerks von Choiseul-Gouffier (1782–1822) kopiert, der die Ruinen des Marstempels in Ephesos darstellt (Abb. 19).³⁷ Dagegen fehlt im letzteren Werk der Tanz. Stattdessen sieht man einen griechischen Seemann, der mit einem Tambouras die Gesellschaft unterhält.³⁸

Die Darstellungen des griechischen Tanzes, der meist als *Romeika* bezeichnet wird, werden im Teil II ausführlich erläutert (vgl. Abb. 30–56).

Der "mimische Tanz Panokato" von Stackelberg (1831) (Abb. 20) ist eine sehr oft abgebildete und bekannte Darstellung. "Mit dem Tamburin in der Hand sitzt eine edle Frau am Boden. Der Knabe — an ihre Schulter gelehnt — freut sich, daß die Mutter, mit den zierlichen Fingern, den mimischen Tanz der zwei schönen Jungfrauen leitet", heißt es in der Erläuterung.³⁹ Der noch heute bekannte Panokato ist ein langsamer Tanz, gekennzeichnet durch steigende und sinkende Armbewegungen und einen auf den Fußspitzen gleichsam schwebenden Körper.

33 Drei ältere Tanzdarstellungen (16.–18. Jahrhunderts) sind in *Diary* 1989: Abb. 1–3 zu finden. Die bekannteste Darstellung stammt aus der Chronik von Du Mont 1694: 335, abgebildet auch bei Anoyanakis 1976: Abb. 146.

34 Diese dritte Ausgabe des Werkes im 1783 wurde auch mit einigen Illustrationen bereichert. Über Guys siehe oben Fußnote 28.

35 Siehe z. B. Gironi 1824: III, 797 (mit Hinweis auf Guys); Raftis 1985: 34–7; Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 249–58.

36 Gironi 1824: III, 794 Tf. 118; Über Gironi (1769–1838), Bibliothekar in Milan, siehe Eckstein 1871: 197. Über Gallina (1796–1874) siehe Thieme-Becker 13: 125.

37 Siehe Choiseul-Gouffier 1782–1822: I, Tf. 99 mit dem Titel "Ruines du temple de Mars" in Ephesos. Im Text wird nichts über die Musik oder die menschlichen Figuren gesagt. Inhaltlich gehört diese Darstellung der Bildkategorie 1 (Vedute/Landschaft mit Idylle) an.

38 Über den Typus des griechischen Seemanns siehe oben Fußnote 27: Le Hay und Ferriol, Tf. 70.

39 Der Text stammt aus der späteren Ausgabe der zweiten Abteilung des Werkes *Trachten und Gebräuche* mit dem Titel *Bilder aus dem Leben der Neugriechen* (Dresden, o. J., hrsg. von N. v. St[ackelberg]).



18. Gironi 1824: III, 797, Tf. 118: *Danza moderna, detta la Candiota*, kolorierte Aquatinta. Z: Gallo Gallina. – Photo: Autor



19. Choiseul-Gouffier 1782–1822: I, Tf. 99: *Ruines du Temple de Mars*. Z: Hilaire; S: “Gravé à l’eau forte par Marillier et terminée au burin par Dambrun”. – Photo: Autor

Dieselbe Szene, d. h. zwei Frauen, die den Panokato tanzen mit einer sitzenden Frau mit Tamburin und Kind, benutzt — nur spiegelverkehrt — Williams in seinem Stich “Die Bucht von Lepanto” (d. i. Naupaktos) für eine Abbildung in seinen *Select views of Greece* (Abb. 21).⁴⁰ Anscheinend ist Stackelbergs Stich von Williams als Vorbild verwendet worden. Dem entspricht auch die Chronologie der Reisen der beiden Autoren (Stackelberg 1810, 1812–4, Williams 1817). Stackelberg ließ seine seit 1810 entworfene Zeichnungen in Kupfer stechen; ab 1825 waren sie in Rom lieferbar.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Williams 1829: I, Tf. 32. Die Szene gehört inhaltlich zur Bildkategorie 1. Über Williams siehe oben Fußnote 21.

⁴¹ Die erste Ausgabe der *Trachten und Gebräuche* erschien in Rom mit dem Titel *Costumes et usages* (Rom 1825). Siehe Rodenwaldt: 29–30; Papanikolaou-Kirstensen 1985: 25.



20. Stackelberg 1831: II, Tf. III: *Tanz Panokato*. Z: Stackelberg; L: C. F. Gille. – Photo: Autor

Für das Reisebuch von Thomas Smart Hyghes, der Iannina und Ali Pasha besuchte, hat Cockerell ein Landschaftsbild des Iannina-See gezeichnet, womit die Darstellung des Räubertanzes (κλέφτικο) kombiniert wurde (Abb. 22).⁴² Dieser Tanz gleicht dem albanischen (= Arvanitiko) Tanz, der von den Reisenden als Überbleibsel der antiken Pyrriche, eines Waffentanzes, angesehen wurde. Man kann ihn mit dem heutigen Tsimikos identifizieren.⁴³

Einen ähnlichen Tanz stellt Leblanc im aquarellierten Stich „Der Tanz der Palikaren vor der Akropolis“ dar (Abb. 23).⁴⁴ Die Fustanellträger tanzen sehr lebhaft zur Begleitung von zwei Zournades und einem Tambour.

Wenn Musikanten als Einzelfiguren dargestellt werden, lebt sich ein Vergnügen am Malerischen in der Motivwahl und in den exotischen Kostümen aus. Ein Beispiel dafür ist der griechische Seemann mit der Laute von Stackelberg (Abb. 24),⁴⁵ ein Stich, in dem sein Streben nach Exaktheit deutlich ist.

Wenn der Franzose Leblanc griechische Sänger malt (Abb. 25),⁴⁶ ist man von den prallen Farben der Kostüme, den exotischen Gesichtern und der grazilen Haltung der Körper beeindruckt, wobei die Instrumente (Laute und Tambouras) zur Echtheit des Bildes beitragen.

Weniger malerisch und graziös sind zwei Musikanten, die Zournas und Tambour bei einem Volksfest in Korfu spielen (Abb. 26). Es handelt sich eher um Karikaturen, die die negative Meinung des Schriftstellers und Kapitäns Forbes Mac Bean über Musik und Tanz bildlich ausdrücken.⁴⁷

42 Hyghes 1820: I, 453 mit dem Titel „View of Ioannina, from the Island at the Lake.“ Die Szene gehört inhaltlich der Bildkategorie 1. Über Hyghes siehe Simopoulos 1970–5: III², 221–88 und passim; Tsigakou 1981: 21, 24, 101 und 200a; *Topos kai Eikona*, 19. aionas V, 1983: 87–97, besonders 96 mit Abb. 5; Politis 1984: 31, 122, 123; Idem 1973: 12. Der Architekt, Zeichner, Stecher und Archäologe Charles Robert Cockerell (1788–1863) reiste 1810–6 nach Griechenland, Konstantinopel, Kleinasien, Kreta, Sizilien und Italien. Er nahm an den Grabungen auf der Insel Aigina und in Phigaleia (1811–2) teil, siehe Thieme-Becker 7: 147–8. Der Stecher der Radierung ist J. Smith, siehe Thieme-Becker 31: 172.

43 Raftis 1985: 36. Zum Tsimikos siehe Petrides 1961: 55–60.

44 Théodore Leblanc (1800–1837) reiste nach Griechenland vor 1833, siehe Thieme-Becker 12: 503.

45 Stackelberg 1831: I, Nr. 21. Siehe auch Anoyanakis 1976: Abb. 102.

46 Leblanc 1833: Tf. 12 („Chanteurs grecs“). Anoyanakis 1976: Abb. 101.

47 Mac Bean 1854: Text zu Tf. XIX „No air is to be recognised — the utmost efforts of the piper only producing a series of horrid squeaks. It is sufficient accompaniment, however, for the national dance, a curiously wild measure.“



21. Williams 1829: I, Tf. 32: *The Golf of Lepanto, Anciently Sinus Corinthiacus*. Z: H. W. Williams; S: W. H. Lizars. – Photo: Autor



22. Hyghes 1830: I, 453: *View of Ioannina, from the Island of the Lake*. Z: C. R. Cockerell; S: J. Smith. – Photo: Autor



23. Leblanc 1833: Tf. 30: *Danse des Pallikares devant Athènes*. Z: Th. Leblanc; L: de Gihaut frères. – Photo: Autor



24. Stackelberg 1831: I, Tf. 21: *Griechischer Matrose*. Z: Stackelberg; S: B. Consorti. – Photo: Autor
 25. Leblanc 1833: Tf. 12: *Chanteurs grecs*. Z: Leblanc; L: de Gihaut frères. – Photo: Autor

Eine verschiedene Einstellung gegenüber der griechischen Musik findet man bei Castellan, der mit Begeisterung von ihr spricht und in den schlichten Hirten direkte Nachfolger aus Theokrits Idyllen sieht.⁴⁸ Er stellt einen wandernden Dichter-Musiker vor (Abb. 27), der Tambouras spielend von Dorf zu Dorf zieht, moderne und antike Heldensagen singend und damit gemütlich sein Geld verdienend, — immer nach Castellan — in direkter Nachfolge des antiken Rapsoden oder des mittelalterlichen Troubadours.

Ähnliche Rapsoden hat Leblanc auch aquarelliert (Abb. 28).⁴⁹ Man kann sie vielleicht mit Stackelbergs blindem Greis im “Bazar von Korinth” (Abb. 6) vergleichen, der dort mythische Erzählungen rezitiert (siehe oben Fußnoten 26 und 27).

Wenn man die beiden früheren Darstellungen mit der des Sackpfeife spielenden griechischen Bauern in einem Stich von Nicolay aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts vergleicht (Abb. 29),⁵⁰ wird es klar, wie weit sich die Einstellung der Europäer gegenüber den Griechen geändert hat. Der Unterschied ist nicht nur ein stilistischer; er zeigt auch eine verschiedene Haltung gegenüber den modernen Griechen, die im Text von Nicolay als lächerliche, arme Wesen beschrieben sind, die nur ungeschickt tanzen und einige dumme Verse aufsagen können, um einige Münzen zu ergattern.

48 Castellan 1820: I, 74 Tf. XIII. Über Castellan siehe Vouraselli 1939: 227; Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 174, 230, 317, 443 und besonders 658–89; *Topos kai Eikona*, 18. aionas II, 1979: 319–33, besonders 332–3; Tsigakou 1981: 27, 188a und 193b.

49 Leblanc 1833: Tf. 19 (“Rapsodes”). Der erste links spielt eine Lyra. Über Leblanc siehe oben Fußnote 44.

50 De Nicolay 1577: Fol. 173 (“Villageois Grec”). Über Nicolas de Nicolay siehe Vouraselli 1939: 204; Simopoulos 1970–5: I, 50, 101, 372, 397–402; Anoyanakis 1976: Abb. 184; *Topos kai Eikona* I, 1978: 145–58, besonders 154–5, Abb. 120, 121; ebenda, II, 1979: 63; Tsigakou 1981: 13, und 187a.



26. Mac Bean 1854: Tf. XIX: *Sketched by a Festa at Corfu*. L: J. Sutcliffe. – Photo: Autor

27. Castellon 1820: I. Tf. XIII: *Chanteur grec ambulant et costumes des habitants de la Morée*. Z und S: Castellon. – Photo: Autor



28. Leblanc 1833: Tf. 19: *Rhapsodes*. Z: Leblanc; L: de Gihaut frères. – Photo: Autor

29. Nicolay 1577: Folio 173: *Villageois grec*. – Photo: Autor

II. DER *ROMEIKA* TANZ

Der meist erwähnte und am häufigsten abgebildete Tanz ist der sogenannte *Romeika* (siehe *Übersichtstabelle* auf S. 224 ff), der unter diesem Namen oder als "griechischer" Tanz an zweiter Stelle bei Guys beschrieben ist (vgl. oben S. 200; und Goulaki-Voutira 1990: 80–118). Es handelt sich um einen Reigen, der von Frauen und Männer, getrennt oder zusammen getanzt wird. Er wird mit dem antiken Geranos, dem delischen Krannichtanz identifiziert, den nach Plutarch Theseus auf Delos in der Nähe des Altars Keraton getanzt hat und der die Wanderung aus den Irrgängen des Labyrinths darstellen soll (Guys 1783: I, 94). Die Tänzer — oder zumindest die Tanzführer — hielten Tücher, die als Hinweise auf den Ariadnefaden erklärt wurden.⁵¹

Diese Identifizierung des griechischen Tanzes mit Theseus und Ariadne verdanken wir Guys und Le Roy (dem französischen Architekten), die sich im Frühling vom 1754 beim Karneval in Athen begegneten und eine Aufführung dieses Tanzes vor dem Lysikratesdenkmal sahen.⁵² Die Benennung "griechischer Tanz", oder "Romeika" ist aber in der neugriechischen Tradition nicht belegt. Sie ist uns nur von Reiseberichten bekannt und zwar von Büchern, die nach den Publikationen von Le Roy und Guys erschienen sind.⁵³

Der erste, der diesen Tanz abgebildet und publiziert hat, ist der französische Architekt Le Roy in seinem Werk, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1758) (Abb. 30). Wir sehen am Fuße des Lysikratesdenkmals einen lebhaften Männertanz von Tambour und Zournas begleitet. Der Text erwähnt den Tanz, jedoch ohne ihn als Romeika zu bezeichnen, und verbindet ihn mit dem Geranos. Le Roy weist darauf hin, daß der erste Tänzer ein Tüchlein hält, das auf den Faden hinweise, den Ariadne dem Heros gegeben habe.⁵⁴ Auf einer Abbildung der englischen Version de Werkes, *Ruins of Athens* (1759) wiederholt Le Roy denselben Tanz Romeika, der diesmal zwischen das Lysikratesdenkmal und den Hafen von Phaleron (!) plziert ist (Abb. 31).⁵⁵ Es ist bekannt, daß Le Roy mit seinem Werk der Publikation der Engländer Dilettanti Stuart und Revett, *Antiquities of Athens* (1762–1814) zuvorkommen wollte, die tatsächlich erst später erschien und eine andere, wissenschaftlichere Zweckbestimmung hatte.⁵⁶

51 Guys 1783: I, 94. Stratou 1966: 18 findet diese Bemerkung sehr treffend.

52 Diese Bemerkung bei Guys 1783: I, 99. Siehe auch Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 252.

53 Es ist bezeichnend, daß bei älterer Publikationen, auch wenn ein entsprechender Tanz beschrieben wird, keine Identifizierung oder Assoziation mit antiken Tänzen stattfindet. Siehe z.B. Du Mont 1694: 335, oder Montagu 1965–7: I, 332–3. Lady Montagu besuchte Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1716–7; siehe Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 85 und 89.

54 Über Le Roy siehe Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 252, 277, 278, 279 und 751; *Topos kai Eikonas* II, 1979: 133–98; Tsigakou 1981: 19, 32 und 192c. Die Radierung ist von Le Bas (= Jacques Philippe Lebas, 1707–1783, Radierer in Paris) unterschrieben; siehe Thieme-Becker 22: 498.

55 Der Hafen von Phaleron wurde in der ersten Ausgabe von Le Roy getrennt abgebildet. Darüber siehe Kouria 1987: 80–2, Abb. 12–4.

56 Darüber siehe *Topos kai Eikona* II, 1979: 139–40. Im Vorwort der zweiten Ausgabe seines Werkes argumentiert Le Roy über seine Methode im Vergleich zu dieser von Stuart und Revett: "When publishing [...] the Ruins of ancient edifices [...] one could aim [...] at presenting servilely the measurements; and the most scrupulous exactness, when measuring them, constitutes, according to Mr. Stuart, almost the only merit that a book of this kind may possess. I confess that I have very different views on the subject. And surely, I would not have travelled to Greece simply to observe the relation of the edifices and their parts with the divisions of our feet [...] These ruins, in the views which I have presented, occupy a much greater part of the picture than those of Mr. Stuart; they thus affect the spectator more vividly, and succeed in passing on to his soul all the admiration by which one is stricken when looking at the Monuments themselves." Siehe auch Tsigakou 1981: 18–9; Kouria 1987: 81–2. Beide letzte Szenen von Le Roy sowie die nächste von Stuart und Revett gehören der Bildkategorie 1 an (Vedute/Landschaft mit Idylle, siehe oben Teil I).



30. Le Roy 1758: II, Tf. X: *Vue de la Lanterne de Démosthène à Athènes*. Z: "Le Roy del. in Graecia"; S: Le Bas. – Photo: Autor



31. Le Roy 1759: Nr. 4: *Lanthorn of Demosthenes – Port of Phalarea*. – Photo: Autor



32. Stuart-Revett 1762–1814: III, Ch. II, Tf. I: *Temple of Jupiter Olympius*. Z: W. Pars; S: Th. Medland. – Photo: Autor

Stuart und Revett waren daher von der Publikation von Le Roy nicht völlig unbeeinflusst. Dies ist vor allem am Frauentanz, der vor dem olympischen Zeustempel in Athen gezeigt wird (Abb. 32), ersichtlich: Die Frau mit dem Tuch stellt laut Kommentar Ariadne dar.⁵⁷

In dem Reisebuch von Porter, *Observations sur la religion, les loix, le gouvernement et les mœurs des Turcs* (1768: Kapitel XIV und XV), das ein Jahr nach dem Werk von Stuart und Revett erschienen ist, lesen wir: “Die Griechen haben auch alle ihre antike Tänze erhalten. Und vor allem diesen Tanz, wo eine Person die anderen Tänzer und Tänzerinnen führt. Dieser Tanz heißt ‘Romeikos’.” Hier taucht die Benennung zum ersten Mal auf — und zwar bei einem Schriftsteller, der sich als Hauptziel die Beschreibung der türkischen Gebräuche setzt!⁵⁸

Mit dem Namen Romeika wird der Tanz auch bei Johann Hermann von Riedesel erwähnt, der sein Werk, *Remarques d’un voyageur moderne du Levant* im Jahr 1773 publizierte und die

57 Stuart/Revett 1762–1814: III, Kapitel II, Tf.1. Über Stuart und Revett siehe oben Fußnote 18. Die Darstellung hier ist von W. Pars (1742–1782) gezeichnet, der Griechenland von 1763 bis 1766 besuchte (Thieme-Becker 26: 260; *Topos kai Eikona* I, 1978: 40–2). Der Stecher ist Thomas Medland (Thieme-Becker 24: 330). Vielleicht hat dieses Bild den bekannten Maler William Turner bei seinem Werk “Ansicht des Tempels des Zeus Panhellenios auf Aigina mit dem nationalen Tanz Romeika und der Akropolis im Hintergrund” beeinflusst, das er im Jahr 1816 in der Royal Academy vorstellte. Die frontal ausgerichtete Tänzerin Turners steht typologisch der dritten Tänzerin bei Stuart und Revett nahe und erinnert an antike Vorbilder. Zu Turner (1775–1851) siehe Thieme-Becker 33: 493–6; Mayoux 1972: 197–219 und passim; Tsigakou 1981: 193b.

58 Vgl. die *Übersichtstabelle*. Über Porter, der von 1746 bis 1768 Botschafter in Konstantinopel war, siehe Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 213–4.



33. Guys 1783: I, 87: *Danse grecque*. (Z: Antoine de Favray). – Photo: Autor

34. Choiseul-Gouffier 1782–1822: I, Tf. 33: *Danse grecque à Paros*. Z: J. B. Hilaire; S: P. Martini. – Photo: Autor

Publikation von Porter gekannt haben könnte.⁵⁹ Er beschreibt ausführlich diesen Tanz — genauso wie schon Guys 1771 — und fügt einige weitere Hinweise auf den Geranos bei antiken Schriftstellern hinzu.

In der dritten Ausgabe von Guys (1783: I, 87) ist derselbe “griechische” Tanz gemeint, den Guys mit Le Roy zusammen vor dem Lysikratesdenkmal gesehen hatte (Abb. 33). Der Tanz wird hier aber von eleganten Frauen vorgeführt, die nicht besonders orientalisch gekleidet sind (mit Ausnahme der Kopftücher). Die Darstellung wurde nicht von Guys selbst, sondern wahrscheinlich von Favray fertiggestellt, der die Szene nach dem Text gezeichnet haben muß, in dem es heißt: “der Tanz kann auch von Frauen getanzt werden ... die Tanzführerin hält ein Tuch”.⁶⁰

Der französische Maler Jean Baptiste Hilaire hat die Darstellung des griechischen Tanzes auf Paros für das Werk von Choiseul-Gouffier angefertigt (Abb. 34).⁶¹ Im Kommentar steht, daß hier der üblichste griechische Tanz abgebildet ist, mit dem Namen Romeika, der nach Guys die Wendungen und Kurven des kretischen Labyrinths darstellen soll. Frauen und Männer tanzen zu Zournas und Laute. Im Hintergrund kann man die Masten der Schiffe sehen; es fehlt jeder Hinweis auf einen bestimmten Ort oder auf das Altertum. Im Text ist der Tanz in Paros lokalisiert, vielleicht weil Riedesel einige Jahre früher bemerkte, die Frauen von Paros könnten am besten die Romeika tanzen.⁶²

59 Riedesel 1773: 216–27. Riedesel bereiste Griechenland im Jahr 1768; siehe Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 309; Hamdorf 1986: 253.

60 Zu Antoine de Favray siehe Thieme-Becker 11: 310–1; Tsigakou 1981: 194b. Zum Radierer Pierre Laurent (1739–1809), der auf einigen Exemplaren dieser Publikation signiert hat, siehe Thieme-Becker 22: 450–1.

61 Die Darstellung hier ist von dem Zeichner und Landschaftsmaler Jean Baptiste Hilaire (1753–1822) gezeichnet, der Choiseul-Gouffier auf der Griechenlandreise im Jahr 1776 begleitet und über hundert Zeichnungen für ihn angefertigt hatte. Hilaire hat auch viele Darstellungen für das Werk von Mouradja d’Ohsson (1787–1820) gezeichnet. Über ihn siehe Thieme-Becker 17: 66–7; Tsigakou 1981: 128 und 201c.

62 Riedesel 1773: 86. Siehe auch Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 305.

Dieselbe Tanzdarstellung, stark verkleinert und leicht verändert, ist als kleine Ergänzung der Ansicht von Smyrna eingefügt worden, eine Zeichnung von Hilaire wieder für dasselbe Werk von Choiseul-Gouffier.⁶³

Eine der bekanntesten Darstellungen des Romeika stammt aus dem Buch des armenischen Historikers Mouradja d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* (1787–1820) und ist wiederum von Hilaire gezeichnet (Abb. 35).⁶⁴ Wir sehen einen großen Reigentanz von achtzehn Frauen, deren Anführerin ein Tuch hält. Sie tanzen zur Begleitung von fünf Instrumentalisten (Tambouras, Geige, Zournas und zwei Tamburine). Männer und Frauen sitzen als Zuschauer am Rande der Szene, während rechts Kuppelbauten zu sehen sind. Die Tänzerinnen tragen die Tracht von Konstantinopel bestehend aus einem langen Kleid mit langen Ärmeln, die Gürtung tief auf den Hüften aufliegend und mit einer kurzärmeligen Jacke, die weit über den Rock herabfällt. Die pyramidalförmigen Hüte sind teilweise mit Federn geschmückt.⁶⁵ Im Text heißt es nur, der Romeika sei eine berühmte Visualisierung des Labyrinths von Dädalus.

Diese Darstellung nimmt eine wichtige Stellung innerhalb der Gattung solcher Illustrationen ein. Hilaire selbst hat die weiblichen Figuren dieser Darstellung für andere Werke wiederverwendet,⁶⁶ während die Szene als ganzes von vielen Künstlern kopiert (Abb. 36) und dabei manchmal variiert wurde.⁶⁷

Man muß außerdem bemerken, daß die erste und die letzte Tänzerin des Romeika-Tanzes von Hilaire jeweils eine freie Umbildung der entsprechenden Frauen der Tanzszene bei La Motray ist, die in dessen Reisebuch am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts auftaucht (Abb. 37).⁶⁸ Es handelt sich um einen Kupferstich des damals jungen Malers William Hogarth, der einen Reigentanz von sechs Frauen und einem kleinen Mädchen darstellt.⁶⁹ Alle Figuren tragen unterschiedliche Trachten aus vielen Gegenden, deren Vorbilder in der prachtvollen Publikation von Le Hay und Ferriol, *Recueil des cent estampes* zu finden sind.⁷⁰ Bei der Tänzerin Nr. 1 bei Hogarth (mitgedruckte Bildnumerierung) ist nicht leicht zu sagen, ob sie von einem bestimmten Vorbild abhängig ist. Für Zeichnung ihres Oberkörpers könnte die Griechin aus Konstantinopel von Ferriol (Ferriol, Tf. 68) das Modell geliefert haben. Nr. 2 wiederholt das Mädchen von Patmos von Ferriol (Abb. 38). Nr. 3 gibt spiegelverkehrt das Mädchen von Chios wieder (Abb. 39). Nr. 4 variiert die Frau aus Bulgarien (Abb. 40). Nr. 5 kopiert spiegelverkehrt das Mädchen von Tinos (Abb. 41). Die zwei mit dem Rücken dem Betrachter zugewandten Frauen sind Schöpfungen von Hogarth. Es ist charakteristisch, daß bei La Motraye's Text weder

63 Choiseul-Gouffier 1808: II, Tf. 126. Radiert von Mariller und Dambrun; der Tanz wird im Text nicht erwähnt, siehe Goulaki-Voutira 1990: 24–7, Abb. 9. Diese Darstellung gehört der Bildkategorie 1 an (Vedute/Landschaft mit Idylle; siehe Teil I).

64 Der Stecher heißt de Longueil (1730–1792), Kupferstecher in Paris, ein Schüler von J. Ph. Lebas; siehe Thieme-Becker 23: 359.

65 Über Beschreibungen der weiblichen Tracht in Konstantinopel siehe z. B. Riedesel 1773: 213–214; Zallony 1809: 104–7; vgl. auch Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 309; III'1, 510–1.

66 Vgl. z. B. zwei Frauen im Vordergrund der Ansicht von Smyrna (siehe oben Fußnote 63), oder Frauen bei einer Gouache in der Sammlung von St. Niarchos mit der Darstellung einer Hochzeitsszene in Athen; Tsigakou 1981: 128, 201c, Tf. XVII.

67 Abb. 36. Ferrario 1827: ("Il ballo la Romeca") kopiert mit Genauigkeit die Szene von Hilaire. Siehe *Diary* 1989: Vbl. 27. Über Ferrario siehe Navari 1989: Nr. 558.

68 La Motray 1723: I, Tf. XI. Über La Motray siehe oben Fußnote 26.

69 William Hogarth (1697–1764) hat 18 Zeichnungen für das Werk von La Motraye (1723) angefertigt; Thieme-Becker 17: 296–306; Mayoux 1962: 13–39 und passim.

70 Über diese Publikation, die schon im 18. Jahrhundert in mehreren Auflagen erschien, siehe oben Fußnote 6. Die Radierungen basieren auf Zeichnungen von Van Mour; siehe oben Fußnote 27.



35. Mouradja d'Ohsson 1787–1820: II, 234, Tf. 93: *La Roméca, danse des femmes grèques*. Z: Hilair (sic); S: De Longueil. – Photo: Autor



36. Ferrario 1827; I, pt. III: *Il ballo la Romeca*. – Photo: nach *Diary* 1989: Tf. 27



37. La Motray 1723; I, Tf. XI: *A Greek dance*. Z: W. Hogarth. – Photo: Autor



38. Le Hay und Ferriol 1715: Tf. 75: *Fille de St. Jean de Patmos*. Z: Van Mour; S: P. Rochefort. – Photo: Autor

39. Le Hay und Ferriol 1715: Tf. 74: *Fille de Chio*. Z: Van Mour; S: G. Scotin maj. – Photo: Autor



40. Le Hay und Ferriol 1715: Tf. 83: *Fille de Bulgarie*. Z: Van Mour; S: J. Haussard. – Photo: Autor

41. Le Hay und Ferriol 1715: Tf. 72: *Fille de Tine*. Z: Van Mour; S: J. de Franssières. – Photo: Autor



42. Marmornes Weihrelief. Neapel, Nationalmuseum, Nr. 6725. – Photo: nach Horn 1931: Tf. 7

Romeika, noch Dädalus, das Labyrinth oder Theseus erwähnt werden. Er sagt nur, daß die Frauen aus Bulgarien (Nr. 4 und 6) im Haar und auf der Brust einen Schmuck tragen, der bei den tänzerischen Bewegungen klingelt. Diese Bemerkung hat Hogarth übernommen.⁷¹

Bei dieser Szene von Hogarth ist ein Bezug zu einem Werk der Antike nicht zu verkennen. Es handelt sich um ein frühhellenistisches Weihrelief (Abb. 42) (heute im Nationalmuseum in Neapel), auf dem sechs Frauen zu sehen sind, die durch ihre Tracht als drei Chariten und drei Nymphen identifizierbar sind; sogar das kleine Mädchen am Schluß ist im Vorbild vorhanden.⁷² Die weiblichen Figuren von Hogarth stehen nicht in einer typologischen Beziehung zur antiken Darstellung. Eine Ausnahme ist höchstens die Bulgarin mit ihrer Tracht, die an den Peplos mit dem langen ungegürteten Apodygma (Überfall) erinnert. Aber die frappanteste Entsprechung zwischen beiden Werken ist die sechste Frau mit dem Mädchen am Ende. Das Mädchen auf dem antiken Relief fällt aus dem Rythmus des Reigens heraus. Damit wollte der Künstler, so nimmt die Forschung an, die Göttinnen von der sterblichen Figur unterscheiden (dazu Himmelmann-Wildschutz 1957: 16-18, Abb. 5). Hogarth ist nicht der einzige, der diese Einzelheit — bekannt auch von anderen Beispielen der Antike — übernimmt: sie erscheint auf allen von ihm abhängenden Darstellungen!

Ein solches abhängiges Beispiel ist die Radierung nach einer Zeichnung von G. Leonardi (Abb. 43) aus einer nicht identifizierten Publikation vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts mit dem Titel *Viaggio pittorico a Constantinopoli*.⁷³ Leonardi zeigt die Szene spiegelverkehrt: die sechs Frauen sind mit Trachten bekleidet, die Hilaires Trachten nachahmen, während das kleine Mädchen am Ende aus dem Rhythmus fällt.

71 Bei der Figur Nr. 6 hat Hogarth Glöckchen in die Haarzöpfe eingezeichnet; siehe Anoyanakis 1976: Abb. 172.

72 Über das Relief Nr. 6725 im Nationalmuseum zu Neapel siehe Ruesch 1908: 50, Nr. 145 (6725), wo die Herkunftsangabe aus "Ercolano" ohne weitere Hinweise erwähnt wird. Siehe auch Horn 1931: 13, Tf. 7.

73 Der Titel der Darstellung lautet: "Ballo che si costuma di fare a Constantinopoli dalle donne Greche, condotto da quella che a il fazzoletto in mano". Diese Darstellung ist auf dem Titelblatt des *Diary* 1989 abgebildet.



43. *Viaggio pittorico* Nr. 7: *Ballo che si costuma di fare a Constantinopoli dalle donne greche, condotto da quella che a il fazzoletto in mano.* Radierung nach G. Leonardi. – Photo: nach *Diary* 1989: Titelblatt

Die Tanzszene von Bauer (Abb. 44), die typologisch auf Hilaires Frauen zurückgeht, bezieht sich konzeptionell auf Hogarth.⁷⁴

Ein anderes Beispiel ist die Zeichnung von Luigi Mayer (Abb. 45) für Edward Jones' *Lyric airs* (1804), wo aus dem Mädchen am Ende ein kleiner Junge geworden ist. Jones gibt zusätzlich zur Beschreibung auch musikalische Transkriptionen des Romeika und des kandiotischen Tanzes.⁷⁵

Eine kleine Mädchenfigur folgt dem vor dem Theseion Tempel getanzten großen Reigentanz, den Dodwell am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts gezeichnet hat (vgl. Abb. 17).⁷⁶ Weiterhin verbindet eine kleine Knabenfigur den Halbkreis des Männer- mit dem des Frauentanzes. Diese Einzelheit erlaubt uns vielleicht indirekt etwas über die Literaturkenntnisse und die Quellen von Dodwell zu erfahren.⁷⁷

74 Ferdinand Bauer (1760–1826), Künstler und Botaniker, aus Österreich, besuchte Griechenland im Jahr 1786: Thieme-Becker 3: 67; Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 613. Das Aquarell ist bei Mellas 1984: 309 abgebildet.

75 Edward Jones publizierte verschiedene musikalische Transkriptionen schon seit 1784 (siehe *British Museum* 1959–66, XIII: 705); über ihn siehe Navari 1989: Nr. 884. Wie er in seinem Buch schreibt (1804: 24), übernimmt er Angaben eines anderen Reisenden, John Hawkins, der Griechenland von 1793 bis 1798 besucht hatte. Zu Hawkins siehe Steer 1962. Zu Luigi Mayer, der in den Jahren 1776–92 in Konstantinopel weilte, siehe Thieme-Becker 24: 490–1; Simopoulos 1970–5: III², 511. Die Zeichnung ist von Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827) gestochen: Thieme-Becker 29: 127–8; Mayoux 1962: 30, 77, 101–4, 106, 109 und 201. Vgl. auch Goulaki-Voutira 1990: Farbb. 59.

76 Siehe oben Fußnote 32 und 22. Bei einer anderen weiblichen Tanzszene folgen zwei kleine Knabenfiguren mit unterschiedlicher Schrittstellung den Frauen; siehe die Radierung im Museum Benaki zu Athen, ohne Kommentar abgebildet bei Skaltsa 1983: 98, Abb. 82.

77 Dodwell hat sehr wahrscheinlich die Szene von Hogarth gekannt.



44. F. Bauer: *Frauentanz auf Livadakia der Chalke*, Aquarell. – Photo: nach Mellas 1984: 309

45. Jones 1804: 4: *A group of female Greek dancers, in the dress which is usually worn at Constantinople*. Z: Luigi Mayer; S: Rownaldson. – Photo: Autor

Um auf Hogarth zurückzukommen, es ist anzunehmen, daß er das antike Weihrelief durch eine Radierung oder Zeichnung gekannt hat.⁷⁸ Sein Versuch, den antiken Tanz mit dem modernen zu verbinden, ist wohl im Zusammenhang mit der neuen Einstellung der Europäer gegenüber den Neugriechen am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts zu sehen. Außerdem sind die Dilettanti zeitlich nicht mehr so weit.⁷⁹

Ähnliche Trachten wie bei Hilaire finden wir auch in Anton Ignaz Mellings, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* (Abb. 46).⁸⁰ Im Kommentar, den der französische Gelehrte Barbié du Bocage (der niemals Griechenland besucht hatte) verfaßt hat, wird der Tanz mit Hinweis Guys beschrieben.⁸¹ Im Bild ist dagegen die Verbindung zwischen den Tänzerinnen eine andere. Sie kreuzen ihre Hände hinter dem Rücken; die letzte Frau, die dem Betrachter zugekehrt ist und eine Pirouette dreht, hält ein Tüchlein, das sie mit der vorletzten Tänzerin verbindet. Diese Tanzstellung stimmt mit dem Romeika in Paros bei Choiseul-Gouffier (Abb. 34) und mit dem weiblichen Tanz bei Guys (Abb. 33) überein. Den manieristischen Gewandfalten nach zu schließen, könnte der Zeichner auch ein antikes Werk gekannt haben. Dafür kämen die Tänzerinnen auf dem Fries des Temenos von Samothrake (Abb. 47) in Frage, ein archaisches Relief des Frühhellenismus, im Westen seit den Zeichnungen des Ciriaco di Ancona bekannt.⁸²

78 Man hat bis heute nicht eruieren können, woher Hogarth dieses Relief kannte. Zum ersten mal publiziert (jedoch ohne Herkunftsangabe) ist das Relief im Katalog von Gerhard und Panofka 1828: 275. Die Ausgrabungen in Herculaneum fanden erst in den Jahren 1709–16 durch Prinz d'Elboeuf statt (Maiuri 1977: 8–10), doch braucht man das Relief nicht unbedingt mit dieser Grabung zu verbinden; es könnte sich auch um einen älteren Fund handeln.

79 Über die Dilettanti siehe Simopoulos 1970–1975: II, 276–9; Bracken 1977: 395; Tsigakou 1981: 32 und 194a; Sinn 1982: 77–8; Hamdorf 1986: 204 mit Fußnote 114.

80 Über Melling, der jahrelang in Konstantinopel gelebt hatte, siehe Boppe 1911: 165–82, 198–202; Thieme-Becker 24: 366; Simopoulos 1970–5: III'2, 233, 510; *Topos kai Eikona* II, 1979: 64. Die Zeichnung ist von Melling, der Stich von Dessaulx und Le Rouge.

81 Ein Teil des Kommentars dieses Werkes ist von Charles Lacretelles geschrieben. Über Barbié du Bocage, der als Geograph im Pariser Nationalbibliothek gearbeitet hatte, siehe Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 385, 387, 439, 762; III'1, 288; III'2, 510; Philippidis et al. 1966: 224, 226–33.

82 Über das antike Relief in Samothrake siehe Lehmann 1966: 58–9, Abb. 30. Williams Lehmann und Spittle 1982: 172–262, besonders die Abb. 147 und 157. Über die Zeichnung des Reliefs von Ciriaco di Ancona siehe Williams Lehmann und Lehmann 1973: 99–115, Abb. 28–9.



46. Melling 1819: Tf. 32: *Seconde vue du Bosphore prise à Candilly*. Z: Melling; S: Dessaulx und Le Rouge, beendet von Bovinet. – Photo: Autor



47. Marmorne Reliefplatte aus dem Fries von Temenos in Samothrake. – Photo: nach Lehmann 1966: Abb. 30

Die nächste Abbildung (von Melling 1819) stellt am selben Ort einen Männertanz dar (Abb. 48), jedoch ohne ihn zu benennen.⁸³ Die Entsprechung der Gesamtszene zu der vorigen, sowie der Kommentar, daß der Romeika auch von Männern getanzt werden könne, erlaubt uns den Schluß, daß der Künstler denselben Tanz darstellen wollte. Die Männer tanzen lebhaft und kreuzen vorne die Hände, genauso wie die Männer bei dem Tanz von Le Roy (Abb. 30–1). Die musikalische Begleitung wird von Laute und Gaida ausgeführt.

⁸³ Hier ist ein Detail der Darstellung abgebildet. Rechts in einem Kiosk sitzen Armenier, die die Veranstaltung betrachten. Die Radierung stammt von Schroeder und Le Rouge. Über Melling siehe oben Fußnote 80.



48. Melling 1819: Tf. 33: *Troisième vue du Bosphore, prise à Candilly*. Z: Melling; S: Schroeder und Le Rouge, beendet von Duparc. – Photo: Autor



49. Dupré 1825: 52: *Kan du prince de Moldavie*. Z: Dupré; S: Lemerrier. – Photo: Autor

Auf einer Vignette im Reisebuch von Louis Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes et Constantinople* (1825) (Abb. 49), die vom Autor selbst stammt, sehen wir das Lager des Prinzen von Moldavien.⁸⁴ Zwei Priester haben ihn besucht, während eine Gruppe von Frauen, um dem Prinz Ehre zu erweisen, den Romeika tanzen, einen "langsamen und ruhigen Tanz, von der Gattung unserer Menuetts". Die Frauen kreuzen ihre Hände vorne, wie die Männer bei den Tanzszenen von Le Roy (Abb. 30–I) und Melling (Abb. 48).

Williams, der 1817 Griechenland besuchte, zeichnete den Romeika als einen Männertanz vor der Akropolis in Athen (Abb. 50) mit Zournas und Tamburin.⁸⁵ Die Männer halten sich an den Händen, die bald nach oben, bald nach unten angestreckt sind (mit Ausnahme des Tänzers im Zentrum, der beide Arme nach oben anstreckt). Der "griechische" Tanz wird kurz im Text beschrieben.⁸⁶

Auf dem Landschaftsgemälde der Stadt Livadia in seinem späteren Reisebuch, *Select views in Greece* (1829) hat Williams im Vordergrund einen Männertanz wiedergegeben (Abb. 51). Im Text werden weder Musik noch Tanz erwähnt. Bei näherer Betrachtung der Tänzer kann man leicht erkennen, daß wir die ersten fünf Tänzer der vorigen Darstellung (Abb. 50) in minutiöser Verkleinerung vor uns haben. Williams hat ebenfalls die Musikanten wiederholt; er hat den Tamburinspieler links aufgestellt und den Zournasspieler im Zentrum (wie bei der vorigen Darstellung). Bei einem anderen Landschaftsgemälde mit der Akropolis im Hintergrund (Abb. 52) aus demselben Reisebuch hat Williams in Miniaturmalerei denselben Männertanz wieder verwendet. Im Zentrum kann man den Tamburinspieler erkennen, während der andere Musiker fehlt. Im Text findet man keinen diesbezüglichen Kommentar.⁸⁷

1833 hat der französische Maler Théodore Leblanc den Romeika abgebildet (Abb. 53).⁸⁸ Fustanellträger tanzen sehr lebendig und halten sich an der Taille mit gekreuzten Händen, wie bei den entsprechenden Szenen von Le Roy (Abb. 30–I) und Melling (Abb. 48).

Der Romeika kommt auch auf Bildern religiöser Feste vor. So z. B. auf der Darstellung des Pfingstfestes in Kaisariani von Cochrane beschrieben und in Miniatur gemalt (Abb. 54),⁸⁹ oder beim Fest der Hagia Anna auf Euböa in einer Darstellung der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Abb. 55),⁹⁰ wo Männer und Frauen zusammen in einer großen S-förmigen Formation mit Zournas und Tamburine tanzen. Der Autor (Schweiger-Lerchenfeld) ist von der Vorführung des Tanzes begeistert, vergißt aber nicht einen Hinweis auf das Altertum anzubringen: "eine lebendige, farbige, eindrucksvolle Szene, die fast von antiker Feierlichkeit geprägt wird." Am Ende gesteht er, daß ihm die Musik nicht besonders gefallen hat.

84 Die Zeichnung wurde von Lemerrier gedruckt. Über den französischen Maler Louis Dupré (1789–1837), Schüler von David, der 1819 Griechenland besuchte, siehe Thieme-Becker 10: 177–8; Simopoulos 1970–5: III'1, 242; III'2, 511–4, 576; Tsigakou 1981: 99, 184c, 195b, 196a–b und 198c.

85 Williams 1820: II, 225. Die Darstellung ist auch bei Anoyanakis 1976: Abb. 181 publiziert.

86 Er erwähnt Labyrinth und Minotaurus, d. h. er kennt die Verbindung mit dem antiken Tanz.

87 Beide letzte Darstellungen gehören der Bildkategorie I im Teil I an (Vedute/Landschaft mit Idylle).

88 Leblanc 1833: Tf.20 ("La Romeica, danse grecque"). Andere Franzosen, die nach Griechenland kamen und dieses Thema gezeichnet haben, sind: Pierre Bonirote, der im Oktober 1840 Athen erreichte und im Pariser Salon von 1843 sein Werk "Romeiko" (heute im Museum zu Lyon) ausstellte (Lydakis 1963: 30, 31, 35, 176 mit Fußnote 146), Théodore Aligny, der 1844 Athen erreichte (Ölgemälde im Museum der Stadt Athen; siehe Thieme-Becker 1: 289–90; Tsigakou 1981: 137 Tf. XVIII; Goulaki-Voutira 1990: 112–3, Abb. 70). Außerdem findet sich der kandiotsche Tanz in einem Stich von Gallo Gallina im Buch von Gironi 1824: III, 794 Tf. 118 (siehe oben Abb. 18 und Fußnote 36).

89 Cochrane 1837: II, 166–7. Der Lithograph hier ist Andrew Picken (1815–1845); Thieme-Becker 26: 589.

90 Schweiger-Lerchenfeld 1882: 180. Die Darstellung ist unsigniert und auch in *Diary* 1989: Abb. 52 abgebildet. Leider konnte ich nicht verifizieren, ob sie aus Belle's *Trois années en Grèce* (1881) stammt; er hat als Zeichner signiert und ein gewisser Lix als Stecher. Bei Schweiger-Lerchenfeld handelt es sich vielleicht um F. L. A. Schweiger (1803–1872) Professor und Bibliothekar in Göttingen; siehe Pökel 1966: 253.



50. Williams 1820: II, 225: *Greek dance*. Z: Williams; S: W. H. Lizars. – Photo: Autor



51. Williams 1829: II, Tf. 39; *Part of the town of Livadia on the river Hercyna, Ancient Livadia*. Z: Williams; S: W. Miller. – Photo: Autor



52. Williams 1829: II, Tf. 36: *Acropolis of Athens, taken from Pnyx or ancient Forum*. Z: H. W. Williams; S: Ja^s Stewart. – Photo: Autor

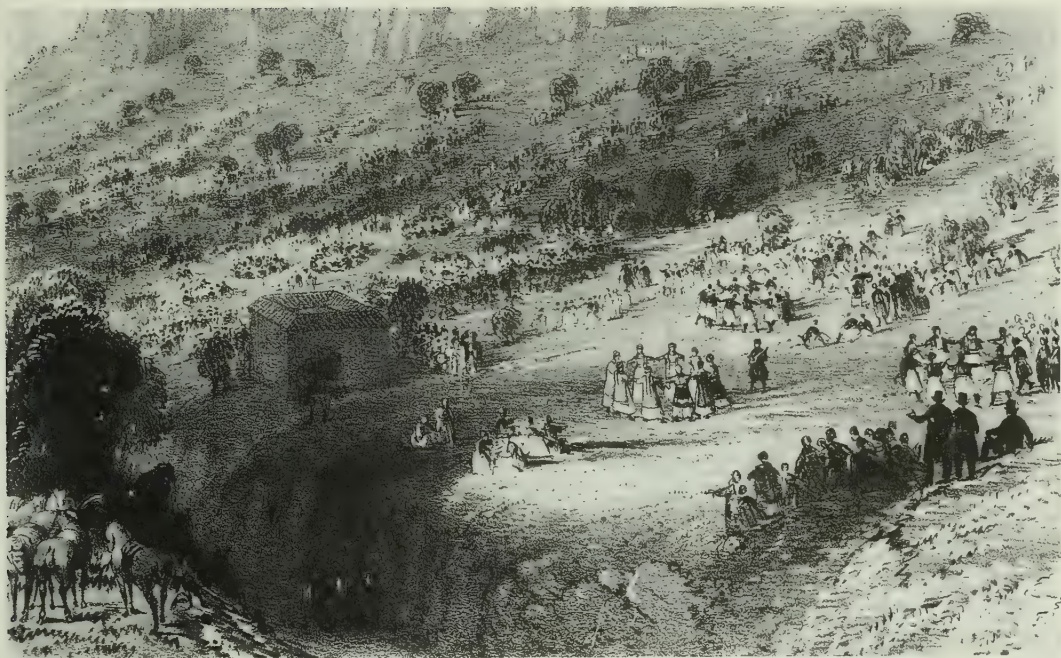


53. Leblanc 1833: Tf. 20: *La Romeica, danse grecque*. Z: Leblanc; L: de Gihaut frères. – Photo: Autor

“Greek National Dance” lautet die Legende einer Radierung, die sich in der Gennadeios Bibliothek befindet (Abb. 56).⁹¹ Dargestellt ist ein Volksfest im Freien und die Hauptszene ist ein Frauentanz, der von einem Fustanellträger angeführt wird; er tanzt eine schnelle Figur und unterhält durch ein Tüchlein Verbindung mit der ersten Tänzerin. Diese Radierung ist stilistisch in die zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts zu datieren. Sie könnte sehr wohl als Illustration einer Romeikabeschreibung gedient haben.

Den Romeika tanzen einige Matrosen auf einem Stich, der in *Illustrated London News*, November 1858 mit der Legende “Greek Fishermen dancing the Romaika” publiziert wurde (siehe *Diary* 1989: Abb. 47). Eine solche Szene beschreibt 1825 J. Emerson anlässlich eines Besuchs des Hafens von Melos: Die Matrosen tanzten “ihre Romaika”, versammelt um einen Wandermusikanten, der eine Art Gitarre spielte (Bracken 1977: 332–3).

⁹¹ Gennadeios Φ59, Band 2: 74. Links kann man die Unterschrift W. Hymper, rechts Bessie Dicmol lesen. Die Radierung stammt aus dem Reisebuch von Mahaffy 1890: 5.



54. Cochrane 1837: II, 166–7: *Fête of the Pentecost at Kaisariani*. Z: G. Cochrane; L: A. Picken & Haghe Lith^{rs} to the King. – Photo: Autor



55. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld 1882: 180: *Tanzfest zu Hagia Anna auf Euböa*. – Photo: Autor



56. *Greek National Dance*, Radierung. Athen, Gennadeios Bibliothek Φ59, Heft 2, 74 (= Mahaffy 1890: 5).
– Photo: Autor

Zusammenfassung und Schlußfolgerung (siehe Übersichtstabelle)

Der Romeika ist in der europäischen Reiseliteratur verschiedenartig dargestellt worden: Er ist von Männern oder Frauen, zusammen oder getrennt getanzt worden, mit diversen Figuren für den Tanzführer, wobei das Tüchlein — wenigstens bei den Anführern — nie fehlt. Daß es sich um konventionelle Darstellungen einer Tanzkategorie handelt, kann man vielen Hinweisen entnehmen: Die ersten Reisenden, die diesen Tanz “gesehen” hatten, Guys und Le Roy, haben ihn völlig unterschiedlich abgebildet: der erste als Frauen-, der zweite als Männertanz. Die wichtige Darstellung von Hilaire für das Buch von Mouradja d’Ohsson, die zum Vorbild für mehrere Folgewerke wurde, ist von einer älteren Darstellung von Hogarth (aus dem Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts) abhängig. Hogarth hat aber diese Darstellung aus verschiedenen bei Le Hay und Ferriol extrahierten Trachtentypen zusammengestellt und ist dazu auch von Werken der Antike beeinflusst worden. Williams hat schließlich den Tanz als “Topos” für Landschaftsveduten benutzt.

Alle schriftlichen Beschreibungen des Tanzes Romeika, egal ob sie eine Abbildungen kommentieren oder nicht, setzen die Identifizierung von Guys und Le Roy voraus. Die Erwähnungen des Tanzes beginnen mit diesen Reisenden und führen bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Sie bestehen mehr oder weniger auf der Entsprechung des antiken mit dem modernen Tanz, oder beschreiben einfach eine malerische Szene. Wie aus der Tabelle ebenfalls ersichtlich ist, ist der Romeika geographisch für mehrere Gegenden belegt (Konstantinopel, Athen, Paros, Naxos, Melos, Kreta, Morias, Kleinasien u. a.) und kann an verschiedenen Anlässen getanzt werden, wie Volksfesten, dem Osterfest, auf dem Bazar, bei Hochzeiten usw.

Aus manchen Stellen ist ersichtlich, daß der Syrtos gemeint ist (Bartholdy 1807: II, 79–80; Stackelberg 1826: 20–1), während an anderen Stellen der Romeika als Nationaltanz bezeichnet wird.⁹² Davon ausgehend und aufgrund des Namens “Romeika” = “griechisch”, kann man schließen, daß Romeika nicht ein bestimmter Tanz war. Der Reisende, der nach Griechenland kam, hatte immer einen Draguman (Dolmetscher) bei sich (Simopoulos 1970–5: II, 11–2; Sinn 1982: 80). Es ist also anzunehmen, daß er während einer tänzerischen Vorführung den Draguman nach dem Namen des Tanzes fragte; dieser antwortete natürlich, daß die Tänzer — oder die Tänzerinnen — griechisch (d. h. “romeika”) tanzten. So erklärt sich die Übernahme dieser Benennung bei den Reisenden und die Tatsache, daß es in der griechischen Tradition keinen Romeika gibt.

Die Verbindung des nationalen Tanzes mit einem antiken Vorbild, fand große Resonanz bei den europäischen Reisenden und Gelehrten. Nachdem sie davon in der Literatur gelesen hatten, fühlten sie sich verpflichtet, neben anderen Sehenswürdigkeiten diesen berühmten Tanz nicht zu verpassen. Was sie sahen, war der mit vielen Varianten überall in Griechenland getanzte Syrtos.

Bei den Illustrationen des Romeika handelt es sich also um Varianten zu einem festen Tanztopos (vermutlich dem Syrtos), wobei manchmal Vorbilder der Antike zitiert werden. Dasselbe gilt für die schriftlichen Beschreibungen des Tanzes.

Es gibt nur wenige Transkriptionen der Musik des Romeika. Unter diesem Namen sind nur vier Transkriptionen erhalten, die drei verschiedene Versionen von Syrtos wiedergeben. Keine Transkription ist älter als die Publikationen von Le Roy und Guys. Die früheste stammt von J. Hawkins, der Griechenland von 1793 bis 1798 besuchte. Sie ist im Jahr 1804 von Edward Jones publiziert worden.⁹³ Diese Transkription ist eine Variante eines Inselsyrtos, die von Jean Benjamin Laborde (1780) publiziert wurde.⁹⁴

Die zweite Transkription steht bei Bartholdy (1807: II, 74) und wurde von Guillaume André Villoteau in einer leicht variierten Fassung im Jahr 1823 publiziert.⁹⁵ Die dritte Transkription ist von Bory de Saint Vincent (1836: II, 240–1); auch sie ist eine Syrtos Version.

So wurde via Bilder und via Texte im 18. Jahrhundert ein griechischer Tanz *Romeika* geschaffen, der sich als westeuropäische Fiktion erweist. Unsere “Entlarvung” hat einerseits deutlich gemacht, wie kompliziert die Entstehung von Bildern und Texten in den Griechenlandbüchern des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts ist, andererseits aber auch zwei konkrete Ergebnisse gebracht. Erstens wurde offenbar, wie ein Tanz zum Symbol für die philhellenistische Verbindung von Antike und Gegenwart werden kann und zweitens sind der Tanz- und Musikforschung neue Quellen für die Geschichte des Syrtos erschlossen worden.

92 Bartholdy 1807: II, 73; siehe oben die Abb. 56: “Greek National Dance”. Bei Choiseul-Gouffier 1782–1822: I, 68–9, Tf. 33 wird dieser Tanz als der üblichste Tanz in Griechenland bezeichnet.

93 Jones 1804: 8–10 (*Romaika*). Jones publiziert zwei weitere Transkriptionen (S. 2–3 und 4–5), die sich vielleicht auf den Romeika beziehen: der Kandiotikos und die “Eiresione”. Über Jones und Hawkins siehe oben Fußnote 75.

94 Hinweis von Prof. D. Themelis. Siehe auch die Publikation der Laborde-Melodie bei Themelis 1984: 57.

95 Villoteau 1826: 463–7; wir zitieren hier nach der zweiten Auflage. Villoteau war als Mitglied der großen französischen Expedition im Jahr 1798 in Ägypten. Siehe Themelis 1984: 59–61; nach Themelis können beide Transkriptionen als Syrtos interpretiert werden.

Text-, Bild-, und Musikquellen zur Romeika (1758–1882)

Reisende, Titel des Werkes	Erscheinungsjahr	Reise	Abbildung
Le Roy, <i>Les ruines...</i>	Paris 1758	1754	*
Stuart-Revet, <i>Antiquities...</i>	London 1762–1814	1751–3, 1755	*
Porter, <i>Observations...</i>	Neufchatel 1768	1746–68	—
Guys, <i>Voyage littéraire...</i>	Paris 1771 ¹	1748, 1754	—
Idem, 3. Auflage	Paris 1783 ³	1748, 1754	*
Riedesel, <i>Remarques d'un voyageur...</i>	Amsterdam 1773	1768	—
Laborde, <i>Essai sur la musique...</i>	1780	(?)	—
Choiseul-Gouffier, <i>Voyage pittoresque...</i>	Paris 1782	1776, 1784–93	*
D'Ohsson, <i>Taleau général...</i> (Hilaire)	Paris 1787–1820	(?)	*
Craven, <i>Voyage en Crimée...</i>	Londres 1789	1786	—
Morritt of Rokeby, <i>The letters of Rokeby...</i>	London 1914	1794–6	—
Leonardi, <i>Viaggio pittoriquo...</i>	(Ende 18. Jhs.)	—	*
Dallaway, <i>Constantinople...</i>	London 1797	vor 1797	—
Scrofani, <i>Voyage en Grèce...</i>	Paris et Strasbourg 1801	1794–5	—
Jones, <i>Lyric airs...</i>	London 1804	1793–8 (Hawkins)	*
Bartholdy, <i>Voyage en Grèce...</i>	Paris 1807	1804–5	—
J. M. W. Turner, <i>Ansicht des Zeus Panhellenios...</i> [Gemälde]	1816	—	*
Melling, <i>Voyage pittoresque...</i>	Paris 1819	1782–1803	*
Williams, <i>Travels in Italy...</i>	Edinburgh 1820	1817	*
Hughes, <i>Travels in Sicily...</i>	London 1820	1813	—

Musikal. Transkr.	Erwähnung des Tanzes im Text	Tanzort	Gelegenheit
—	Der antike Geranos = der moderne Tanz	Athen, Lysikra- tesmonument	Karneval
—	Tanz der Ariadne	Athen, Zeus- tempel	—
—	Der Tanz heisst "Romeikos"	—	—
—	Tanz der Ariadne und des Theseus, griechischer Tanz (Variante des Kandiotikos)	Athen, Lysikra- tesmonument	Karneval
—	(Mme Chénier)		
—	Romeca (Hinweis auf Guys, antike Quellen)	Paros, Naxos	—
*	Syrtos des Archipelagus	—	—
—	Romeca (Hinweis auf Guys)	Paros	—
—	La Roméca (Daedalus, Labyrinth usw.)	—	—
—	Tanz von Ariadne	Athen	—
—	Ariadne-Tanz (Hinweis auf Guys)	Mani	Ostern
—	Tanz griechischer Frauen, die erste hält ein Tuch	Konstantinopel	—
—	Ariadne-Tanz, Romeika (Hinweis auf Guys)	Mysia, Lampadion	Volksfest
—	Romeika	Athen	Taufe
*	Romeika, Candiota	—	—
*	Romeika = die Griechin (Nationaltanz, Syrtos)	—	—
—	Romeika	Aigina	—
—	La Romeca (mit Hinweis auf Guys)	Bosporus	—
—	Griechischer Tanz	Athen (Akropolis)	—
—	Romeika	Piräus	Fest in Privathaus

Reisende, Titel des Werkes	Erscheinungsjahr	Reise	Abbildung
Villoteau, <i>Description de l'Égypte...</i>	Paris 1823	1798 (Ägypten)	—
Gironi, <i>Il costume dei Greci...</i>	Milan 1824	—	*
Duffrenoy, <i>Beautés de l'histoire...</i>	Paris 1825	(?)	*
Dupré, <i>Voyage à Athènes...</i>	Paris 1825	1819	*
Stackelberg, <i>Der Apollontempel...</i>	Rom 1826	1810, 1812–4	—
Emerson in <i>Antikenjagd...</i>	—	1825	—
Ferraio, <i>Il costume antico...</i>	Milano 1827	—	*
Frankland, <i>Travels...</i>	London 1829	1827–8	—
Leblanc, <i>Croquis d'après nature...</i>	Paris 1833	vor 1833	*
Michaud-Poujoulat, <i>Correspondance...</i>	Paris 1833–5	1830–1	—
St. Vincent, <i>Relation du voyage...</i>	Paris 1836–8	1829	—
Cochrane, <i>Wanderings in Greece...</i>	London 1837	vor 1837	*
Bonirote, [Gemälde]	1840 (?)	1840	*
Aligny, [Gemälde]	ca. 1850	1844	*
<i>Illustrated London News</i>	Nov. 1858	—	*
Townshend, <i>A cruise...</i>	London 1870	—	—
Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, <i>Griechenland...</i>	Leipzig 1882	(?)	*

Musikal. Transkr.	Erwähnung des Tanzes im Text	Tanzort	Gelegenheit
*	Romeika (Syrτος)	—	—
* (?)	Griechischer Tanz (Candiota)	—	—
—	Romeika	—	—
—	Romaika	Duz-Oglou	Empfang des Prinzen von Moldavien
—	Tanz der Ariadne und des Theseus (Syrτος)	—	—
—	Romaika	Melos (Hafen)	—
—	Romeca	Konstantinopel	—
—	Romaika	Principo	—
—	Romeika	—	—
—	Romaika	Morias	Bazar
*	La Roumeka	Morias	—
—	Romeika	Athen, Kairsariani	Pfingsten
—	Romeika	—	—
—	Romeika	Athen	—
—	Romeika (Fishermen)	—	—
—	Romeika (Nationaltanz)	—	—
—	Romaika	Euböa	Hagia Anna

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E) DEPICTIONS ON MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

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Explicates a rebus that Dutch oboe maker Hendrik Richters (1683–1727?) used on several of his instruments' silver keys.

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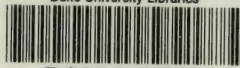
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